"Taken from the Life"
Mimetic Truth and Ekphrastic Eloquence in the Writings of Anna Maria Fielding Hall (1800-1881).

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I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of PhD is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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"Taken from the life": Mimetic Truth and Ekphrastic Eloquence in the Writings of Anna Maria Fielding Hall (1800-1881)
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Anna Maria Fielding Hall (1800-1881) spent her early formative years in Wexford before moving permanently to London where, in 1824 she married Irish man of letters Samuel Carter Hall. As a result of their wide-ranging literary and editorial partnership, they became an influential couple in artistic circles in London.

This dissertation focuses on a selection of Anna Maria Hall's publications that were illustrated by a diverse range of artists, with a particular emphasis on those texts that reveal her perceptions of nationality, childhood and gender. It proposes to evaluate the texts' relationship to visual art, the degree to which they embody Hall's didactic aims, and the extent to which the visual qualities of her writings engaged the reader. It is informed by the dual concepts of mimesis, the imitation of nature through art, and ekphrasis, the verbal representation of the visual arts. The varied ways of interpreting mimesis, not least, notions of mimicry, imitation and otherness, inform and mediate the colonial, didactic and gendered elements of her writings.

This approach facilitates a fresh and nuanced assessment of Hall's reputation, taking into account the pivotal role visual art plays in her writing, the diversity of genres explored in her children's books, the economic factors which often dictated her literary output and her complex ambivalence towards her Anglo-Irish identity.

The exploration of ekphrasis and mimesis in the dissertation is organised into seven chapters that address the dialectic between word and image; Hall as cultural interpreter of Ireland; morality and fantasy in her children's books; the challenges of the publishing world for a woman writer and editor; and a case study of her publications for one major publisher, W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Preamble

This dissertation focuses on a selection of Anna Maria Hall's (1800-81) publications that were illustrated by a diverse range of artists, with a particular emphasis on those texts that reveal her perceptions of nationality, childhood and gender. It proposes to evaluate the texts' relationship to visual art, the degree to which they embody Hall's didactic aims, and the extent to which the visual qualities of her writings engaged the reader. The didactic thread runs through all Hall's work. She saw certain desirable traits, values and social structures that related equally to the young and to the Irish. Her approach to Ireland often emanated from the same maternal impulse to guide, correct and encourage good imitative behaviour. With regard to gender, there were limits as to what was deemed appropriate for women in terms of education, profession and outlets for creative expression. Hall's commitment to the plight of women can be seen in her didactic concern to prepare young women for potential trials and challenges in their adult lives. Her self-consciousness about her own position as a hard-working though successful woman writer, but above all, as a wife -- with its attendant duties and responsibilities - informs her work throughout. According to Hall, the Irish peasant, children, and adolescent women all needed protection and guidance due to their childish naïveté. Driven by her evangelical zeal, Hall sought to influence the formation of the young and the indigenous Irish with a view to transforming society and inculcating a sense of responsibility and independence in her charges. I explore the consequences of how Hall pursues her aims by focusing on the degrees to which her deployment of ekphrasis facilitates the mimicking of those values she espouses. To this end, the importance of mimesis as a core concept is highlighted in each chapter.

Chapter 1, which is intended as a general introduction to the dissertation, is divided into four main sections: contextual, conceptual, formal, and methodological. The first sets Hall within several contexts: personal, biographical, cultural, and critical. It provides a personal introduction to how I

chose my subject, followed by brief biographical details about Hall and her husband. After a short overview of her cultural circle, outlining the friends, writers and artists with whom she associated, I finish this section with a discussion of the existing critical literature on Hall. The second part outlines the conceptual framework guiding this dissertation. My working definitions of nationality, childhood and gender are stated and the core concepts of ekphrasis and mimesis are defined with an overview provided of how they are integrated and employed throughout the chapters. This section explains the rationale as to why the dissertation is organised as it is, each chapter expanding on key aspects of the central thesis question. The third section examines some of the formal qualities of Hall's writing: the strength and variety of the narrator's voice, her range of settings, her preferences for certain character types, the complexity of her plots, her use of language, her experimentation with genre, and the question relating to the editing of her work. The final area of the chapter provides the methodology employed for the dissertation and how it focuses on three main areas: Hall, the author, a range of her texts, and critical responses to her work. The chapter closes with an outline of technical details pertinent to the organisation of the dissertation.

Contexts: Personal

During the mid 1990s, when I catalogued the Renier Collection of Historic and Contemporary Publications for Children at Bethnal Green Museum, the name Anna Maria Fielding Hall, or Mrs S. C. Hall, appeared repeatedly.[1] In 1998, as part of Magda and Rolf Loeber's ongoing research for A Guide to Irish Fiction 1650-1900, I compiled a list of Hall's works.[2] I was struck not only by the fact that Hall was Irish, had spent her childhood in Wexford until the age of fifteen and wrote on Irish themes, but also by the quality of her illustrated books and by the range of her children's books, particularly a beautifully bound, lavishly illustrated copy of Midsummer Eve: A Fairy Tale of Love published in 1848. I was surprised that the author, and especially her fairytales, had received relatively little critical attention.

As a librarian in the National Art Library at the Victoria & Albert Museum, I noted the extent of Hall's involvement in The Art-Union, later The Art Journal, and that she was married to Samuel Carter Hall, its editor.[3] For art researchers of the nineteenth century, this journal is of seminal importance and was one of the most frequently requested items in the library. The potential intersection between her illustrated books and her husband's art connections became apparent.

Maureen Keane's important book, Mrs S. C. Hall: A Literary Biography (1997), provided valuable insights into Hall's life and many of her Irish works. However, Keane did not reproduce or analyse the illustrations in Hall's books in any detail. While she referred to the fact that Hall was a prolific writer of children's books, she did not examine this to any extent. Neither has any other critic of Hall's work devoted sustained attention to this aspect of her work.

Contexts: Biographical

Fig. 1.1 "Anna Maria Hall" by Daniel Maclise, 1833.[4] Retrospect of a Long Life (1883).[5]
Fig. 1.2 "S. C. Hall" by Paul De La Roche, 1847. Retrospect of a Long Life (1883).

Anna Maria Fielding (1800-81) was born on 6 January in Anne Street Dublin.[6] Her father, William, was Irish and he died during her infancy. Her mother, Sarah Elizabeth, was of Swiss Huguenot extraction on her mother's side of the family.

The young widow and child lived with Sarah's mother and stepfather, George Carr, in Graige House in Bannow, County Wexford. When her grandmother died, fifteen-year old Anna Maria moved to London with her mother where she married the Irish journalist and editor, Samuel Carter Hall (1800-89) in 1824. Born at Geneva Barracks, Co. Waterford, he was the fourth of twelve children and spent most of his youth in Cork before leaving for London in 1822. Although he had more exposure than his wife to Irish ways, he was more reticent about his Irish roots. Nevertheless, like his wife, he ceaselessly promoted Ireland, in his case by researching and publicising Irish folklore and antiquities. In 1842 he was made a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in London for his major contribution to knowledge of this topic. (To circumvent any confusion for the reader, I will refer to Anna Maria Fielding Hall as Hall throughout this dissertation and her husband will always be referred to as S. C. Hall.[7])

Encouraged initially by her husband to write her Irish sketches, Hall gained widespread success with her two series of Sketches of Irish Character when they appeared in 1829 and 1831. The following three decades were immensely prolific as she produced further sketches, plays, novels and children's books. She also published a broad selection of travel literature, much of it jointly with her husband.[8] She was an experienced editor, firstly with The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not from 1829-37 and later with Sharpe's London Magazine from 1852-53 and the St James's Magazine from 1861-62.[9] She wrote numerous articles for the burgeoning periodical press of 1830s-40s London, Edinburgh and Dublin, including serialised versions of her novels and many art-related works for her husband's The Art-Union. Peter Mandler, in his biographical entry on S. C. Hall cites the comment made by an Art Journal salesman to a subscriber, "She does it all. Hall himself is an umbug."[10] The artist and journalist, Henry Vizetelly (1820-94) was clear as to which of the Halls was the more gifted: "True, he assumed an intellectual authority over her, and she blandly accepted the false position, but no one was taken in by it."[11] Whilst acknowledging what seemed to be a happy, compatible marriage, her strategy within her relationship and with the wider public was, I will argue, carefully cultivated to ensure that S. C. Hall was always convinced of her loyalty to him.

Her success at maintaining such a role, coupled with the fact that S. C. Hall had the last word in his Retrospect of a Long Life: From 1815-1883, are two of the possible reasons she slipped so swiftly from the canon after her death. However, the recent Dictionary of Irish Biography does not include a separate entry for S. C. Hall, despite his Irish credentials, and he is discussed under his wife's entry.

The Halls maintained their strong links with their native country and undertook at least five tours during the period 1825-41 and again before 1865. These early tours fed into their important three-volume joint publication entitled Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c. published 1841-43. This work was published in many different part editions in later years, some focusing on one area such as A Week at Killarney (1843) or the four-volume Hand-Books for Ireland (1853). In her many sketches and in her novel The Whiteboy (1845), she highlighted the wretched plight of the Irish, in particular the consequences wrought by irresponsible absentee landlords and mercenary bailiffs. Her travel books and sketches aimed to encourage people to visit Ireland and to sample the unique "character" of the Irish people.

Fig. 1.3. "The Rosery." Letterhead used by the Halls [c. 1840].[13]

While the Halls lived in "The Rosery" in Old Brompton from 1839-49, they were active participants in the thriving artistic and literary scene in London.[12]

The Halls entertained such notables as Charles Dickens (1812-70), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64), Mary Howitt (1799-1888), William Howitt (1792-1879), Jenny Lind (1820-87), Thomas Moore (1779-1852), John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Wordsworth (1770-1850). Hall corresponded enthusiastically with a cross-section of artists, writers and celebrities. She engaged in many

philanthropic activities, played an important role in the setting up of the Hospital for Consumption at Brompton, was vocal in her support for governesses and women's issues, and both Halls worked tirelessly to support temperance causes. The Halls were Evangelical Christians[14] with a keen interest in Spiritualism that they shared with many of their contemporaries.

Despite an earnest desire to have children, only one of Hall's children, a daughter Maria Louisa, was born alive in 1836 and she only survived for a few short days.[15] They had an adopted daughter, Fanny,[16] and Hall's mother, Mrs Fielding, lived with them until her death in 1856. In 1868, Hall was granted a £100 civil pension, and in 1874, six hundred subscribers helped the Halls to celebrate their fiftieth wedding anniversary with a £100 annuity, £670 in cash and an album containing five hundred congratulatory letters.

Fig. 1.4 Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary Invitation Card. (1874).

Hall died at Devon Lodge, East Molesey in Surrey on 30 January 1881 and her husband died eight years later on 16 March 1889 at 24 Stanford Road, Kensington. Both were buried at Addlestone churchyard in Surrey.

Contexts: Cultural

It is possible to gauge the literary circle the Halls moved in from a number of sources: Hall's articles in The Art-Union in which she wrote frankly about those she admired and sought to visit, those with whom she corresponded on a regular basis, her choice of contributors for her editorial publications, those discussed in S. C. Hall's Retrospect,[17] and references to the Halls from those who attended their literary evenings and parties.

In The Art-Union, Hall wrote a series of "Memories" of people who meant a great deal to her. Many of these portraits were compiled later in her Pilgrimages to English Shrines (1850). Amongst her living heroes and heroines portrayed in this series were Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), Barbara Hofland (1770-1844), Thomas Hood (1799-1845), Letitia Elizabeth Landon or L. E. L. (1802-38), Hannah More (1745-1833) and Jane Porter (1776-1850).

While an exact picture of Hall's correspondence is not possible as her husband did not want her private letters made public, some representative collections survive in archives in Belfast, Dublin, Edinburgh, Iowa and Princeton. Other letters quoted in the dissertation indicate that she counted many well-known people amongst her close acquaintances including Charles Dickens, Maria Edgeworth, James Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd (1770-1835), Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) and Samuel Lover (1797-1868). According to William Goss,[18] S. C. Hall also gave Goss permission to retain or destroy a series of her letters from various notable people but Goss does not elaborate further. Hall wrote many letters relating to her publications, replying and issuing invitations to acquaintances and discussing the literary efforts of fellow authors.

These letters offer an insight into which writers she chose to contribute to her publications. Taking one of her major editorial works as an example, The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not from 1829-1837[19] reveals a cross-section of her most stalwart contributors. Aside from her own entries which numbered nineteen, her most frequent contributors were Maria Jane Jewsbury (1800-33) with fourteen entries, Mary Howitt with thirteen, Letitia Elizabeth Landon and Charles Swain (1801-74) with twelve each, Leman Blanchard (1820-89), Barbara Hofland and the Rev. Robert Walsh (1772-1852) with nine each, Caroline Bowles (1786-1854), Allan Cunningham (1784-1842) and S. C. Hall with eight each and Eliza Leslie of Philadelphia (1787-1858) with seven entries.[20] Favourite writings by revered older authors such as Anna Barbauld (1743-1825) and Hannah More were also included.

S. C. Hall admitted that his wife also worked with him on his A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age (1877). His Retrospect included a list of 107 "Recollections of Authors I have Known," thirty-six "Recollections of

Artists I have Known," and twenty-three "Recollections of Actors I have Known." There were many overlaps between those mentioned in his Retrospect and Hall's many correspondents and friends and as S. C. Hall says in his Preface to the third edition of A Book of Memories, "with very few exceptions my acquaintances were hers."[21]

The Halls enjoyed socialising and there are numerous references by authors and artists who attended these occasions. One of S. C. Hall's regular contributors to The Art Journal, Llewellyn Jewitt (1816-86), wrote:

> Then to the Halls to dine, at a quarter past seven. Dinner party of ten: Mr and Mrs Hall, Lord Muskerry, Hon. Mrs Diane Morgan, E. M. Ward R. A., and his wife... Dinner the most splendid and elegant I ever saw, and entirely arranged in honour of my visit.[22]

They counted many Irish friends amongst their close acquaintances such as the antiquarian Thomas Crofton Croker (1798-1854), the Irish priest and agricultural expert William Hickey (1787-1875) who wrote under the pseudonym Martin Doyle, Samuel Lover, Daniel Maclise (1806-70) and Thomas Moore. Hall's Anglo-Irish identity was central to her life and work as will be shown in her literary themes and concerns.

Contexts: Critical

During her lifetime, Hall's publications were eagerly awaited and widely reviewed. A glance through the bibliography reveals a range of review journals that examined her work. They included The Athenaeum, The Edinburgh Literary Journal, Fraser's Magazine, The Imperial Magazine, The Mirror and The Westminster Review. That was in addition to those that appeared in journals and annuals edited by her husband such as The Amulet, The Art-Union, The New Monthly Magazine and The Spirit and Manners of the Age. Significantly, she contributed to, and was reviewed by, the Irish periodical press at a time when this was a rare enough occurrence for an Irish writer living in England.[23] Irish journals featuring her work included The Dublin Literary Gazette, The Dublin Penny Journal, The Dublin University Magazine and The Irish Penny Journal. Not all reviews were necessarily positive but this often had to do with

the political bias of the journal and the nationality and religion of the contributor. Peter Finlay, in his dissertation on "The Irish as 'Other'," lists ten reviews of the Halls' joint three-volume publication Ireland and notes their variety of approach.[24] For example, the Cork-born William Maginn (1794-1842), the editor of Fraser's, (a magazine with a pro-Anglo-Irish, anti-Catholic bias) questioned their reports of his home town, challenged elements he construed as Popish conspiracies and was snide about the accuracy of the "conjugal tourists." The Dublin Review, a pro-Catholic magazine was positive overall about Ireland but suspicious about their discussion of priests and Maynooth College, which the reviewer sensitively perceived as negative in tone.

Hall knew that reviews were not always automatic and was keenly aware of the necessity to promote new publications in all the relevant places. In a letter to her old friend Francis Bennock, Hall asked if he had any influence with Herbert Ingram, the proprietor of The Illustrated London News:

> Dr Mackay told Carter some time ago that your friend Mr Herbert Ingram would not permit any line of notice much less praise of anything we did, to go into the 'Illustrated News.' I do not know why the illustrious M. P. should so hate us – but it is evident he does ... I cannot say I should give a second thought, as to whether the great man liked or disliked us – but the 'Illustrated' has a large circulation – and might do us some service ... I am anxious that 'The Book of the Thames' in the Art Journal should be noticed as it progresses through its pages.[25]

By the time of Hall's death in 1881, most of her books were out of print and assessments over the subsequent century have been scarce. Keane refers to several brief articles: the dismissive account by Horatio Krans in Irish Life in Irish Fiction (1903), the positive review by Stephen J. Brown in Ireland in Fiction (1919), and the omissions in Thomas Flanagan's The Irish Novelists (1959) and James M. Cahalan's Great Hatred, Little Room (1983).[26] Since the publication of facsimile editions of four of her titles by Garland Publishing in 1979: Lights and Shadows of Irish Life (1838), Sketches of Irish Character (1829), Stories of the Irish Peasantry (1851), and The Whiteboy (1845), it comes as no surprise to

know that these titles have generated the most critical interest in the last thirty years. The chief critics who engaged with Hall's work during this period were Robert Lee Wolff, Barry Sloan, James Newcomer and Maureen Keane.

Robert Lee Wolff's introduction was included with the four facsimiles above. In his discussion, he asserted that Hall did not deserve the "contemptuous dismissal" she had received from critics.[27] He rated her, as did many of her contemporaries, in the same league as John Banim (1798-1842), Michael Banim (1796-1866), Gerald Griffin (1803-40) and William Carleton (1794-1869). As in other comparisons with Carleton, the latter's much-quoted reference to Hall's portraits and his own of Irish peasants, served to undermine her achievements: "Did she ever live with the people as I did? Did she ever dance and fight with them as I did? Did she ever get drunk with them as I did?"[28] Barry Sloan made the valid point that the success of Carleton's stories in Ireland may have overshadowed her reputation in her home country:[29]

> Mrs Hall might have appeared a more important pioneer had it not been for the publication of Carleton's first stories at almost the same time as she embarked upon her own literary career.[30]

When comparing Hall to Maria Edgworth and Lady Morgan (1776-1859), Sloan stated that Hall "lacked the artistry of the former and the flamboyance of the latter,"[31] and from his point of view, her moralising stifled her tales. Sloan's stance was complex at times. He argued on the one hand that Carleton could never look at his subject with the "detachment and lack of personal feeling that one senses in Mrs Hall's writing,"[32] yet he admitted that she probably never wrote "as excruciatingly badly as Carleton at his worst."[33] His bias in favour of Carleton[34] showed how he underestimated the impact on her writing of Hall's early years in Wexford, mingling with the peasants and servants who peopled her Sketches of Irish Character. Likewise, a "lack of personal feeling" could hardly be attributed to Hall's stories by even the most unenthusiastic reader.

James Newcomer "discovered" Hall[35] in 1985 when researching his books on Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan.[36] Subsequently he spent many months studying her work in Cambridge and in Iowa and wrote his two sympathetic articles on Hall.[37] Newcomer's study of the extensive Hall archive

at the University of Iowa,[38] linked to their holdings of Leigh Hunt material, prompted him to spread the word about this important resource.

Maureen Keane produced a definitive account of Hall in her literary biography in 1997. It is a balanced, exhaustively researched publication which gives individual chapters to each of Hall's collections of tales: Sketches; Lights and Shadows; Stories of the Irish Peasantry; and her novel The Whiteboy in addition to their joint work, Ireland.[39] The individual chapters facilitate a much deeper analysis of the individual stories than that found in Sloan or any other critique to date. It includes a comparative chapter on William Carleton and Charles Lever who both produced novels about the landlord/tenant relationship in 1845, the same year as Hall's novel The Whiteboy.[40]

In addition to the work of these four critics, further commentaries about Hall have emerged, usually short entries for biographical dictionaries such as the Dictionary of Irish Biography or brief references as in The Field Day Anthology.[41] An extensive entry for Hall is included in The Orlando Project Database published by Cambridge University Press. There is an overall tendency in much of the criticism to quote from the same sources. As will be shown in this dissertation, references taken from popular contemporary publications such as S. C. Hall's Retrospect or Isabella Fyvie Mayo "Two Old Friends" were not always correct nor should S. C. Hall's comments be always taken at face value. In a similar way, recent commentators tend to take Barry Sloan as a starting point, inevitably comparing Hall in a negative light to Carleton. Heather Ingman's recent study on The Irish Short Story demonstrates this ambivalence towards Hall. On the one hand she dismissed Hall, saying that her "fictional framework all but collapses under the weight of her message,"[42] compared to either Carleton or Samuel Lover, but she also acknowledged with regard to Carleton, that "as much as his predecessors in the form he could not let a story tell itself but felt obliged to intervene and explain things to the reader."[43] Ingman agreed that Hall's stories were lively and entertaining but "marred by her tendency to ascribe the increasingly dire political and economic situation to moral failings on the part of landlords and peasants."[44]

In a recent feature in The Irish Times, entitled "Words We Use" by Diarmaid Ó Muirithe, the journalist commenced his article thus: "Brenda O'Brien of Limerick was reading a novel by Mrs S. C. Hall recently, possibly as a penance for some peccadillo – why else would one read Mrs Hall?[45] Ó Muirithe, as a folklorist and historian had drawn extensively on the work of the Halls in several of his publications especially his 1972 publication A Seat Behind the Coachman: Travellers in Ireland 1800-1900. In this he was effusive in his praise for Ireland, saying that "it is the best account of its kind."[46] He praised their deep insight and lack of religious or class prejudices compared to the "Protestant and imperialistic prejudices" of their contemporary Thackeray.[47] Most likely the reason for his assertion that it was a waste of time reading Hall today was that he was objecting to the moralising elements in her narratives.

The focus of this dissertation is on the didactic qualities of Hall's writings, precisely the area that today's critics have found off-putting. By concentrating almost exclusively on her Irish-related writings, they have missed aspects of the broader picture of her oeuvre. I will demonstrate in the following chapters that a study of her engagement with the visual, her concern for childhood and the gender implications inherent in her writings, provides greater insights to her overall aims. The Irish aspect was but one important element in her repertoire, one that has exclusively dominated scholarship on Hall to date.

Conceptual Framework and Overview of Chapters

The second section of this chapter focuses on the conceptual framework guiding this work. Essentially it examines Hall's engagement with forms of visual and textual representation to elucidate her didactic aims. It explores how and to what degree her perceptions of nationality, childhood and gender, are informed by the dual concepts of ekphrasis, the verbal representation of the visual arts and mimesis, the imitation of nature through art. Firstly, I outline my working definitions of nationality, childhood and gender. Secondly, I discuss the core concepts of ekphrasis and mimesis. I then explore these concepts in the context of Hall's work by means of an overview of the dissertation chapters, concluding with an outline of the organisational principles of the dissertation.

Conceptual: Nationality, Childhood and Gender

Nationality

By nationality I refer to a sense of belonging to a shared imagined political community.[48] Benedict Andersen defined it as "imagined" as the members of the smallest nation will never know all their fellow members, yet will feel a sense of comradeship with them. Any discussion of Hall's views on nationality must of necessity take into account the context of the political and economic union between Ireland and Britain in the nineteenth century. The issue of the Union dominated discussions of Irish nationality throughout Hall's lifetime. Whether this shared community represented a union of all peoples of the British Isles where the cultural differences of each nation would be respected and nourished as Unionists claimed, or whether this shared community only extended to the island of Ireland was a key question. Hall's books aimed to promote a greater understanding of Ireland to English people, an awareness of its ancient past, its rich culture and its friendly people. However, the superiority of the English ways versus the Irish ways was ever-present in Hall's work and she always saw the Irish as the beneficiaries of the English, requiring help and guidance, as would an errant child. Martha Nussbaum and Caroline Levander have both explored different aspects of the dependency model of nationalism and this model is revealing when applied to Hall's Irish works and her sense of a parent-child relationship between the two countries.[49] Matthew Arnold (1822-88) in his examination of the Celt, emphasised the childishness and lack of maturity of the Celtic culture,[50] a view also expressed by Ernest Renan (1823-92) in "The Poetry of the Celtic Races."[51] Childishness is equated with being a member of a subordinate race incapable of self-government and of gaining maturity.[52] Hall's solution was for the Irish to imitate English ways but as is shown in Chapter 3, Homi Bhabha articulates an in-built resistance from the colonised, manifested in colonial mimicry.

In the pages of The Nation newspaper, which had an estimated readership of 250,000 in 1843, the Young Irelander Thomas Davis argued for Irish spiritual rebirth through nationhood. It was only through the establishment of the Irish nation that Irish nationality could be fully realised. Whilst liberal

towards those who espoused nationalist ideas – the Halls entertained Charles Gavan Duffy (1816-1903) at their home at Firfield – Hall nonetheless did not share his ideas. She was unwavering in her support for parliamentary Union between Britain and Ireland and did not consequently see any political conflict in her joint loyalties to Ireland and Britain. Her stories show her awareness however of the underlying political tensions: the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion in Wexford, the rapparees and the resurgents, and the escalating Whiteboy agrarian protests arising from the uneasy relationships between landlords and tenants. Hall frequently referred to the heroic Irish soldiers who fought in the British army against the Napoleonic forces, evidence of her acceptance of their assumed loyalty to the Crown.

Hall was deeply aware of the Irish stereotypes so common in Britain. Whilst she rejected the more obvious manifestations, she was equally capable of portraying offensive stereotypes perhaps as a subconscious denial of her own Irish identity evoked by negative attitudes towards the Irish in England. Hall was not blind to the political situation, the mismanagement of Ireland and religious intolerance and was fully aware of the difficulties facing the Irish peasant in the 1830s and 40s. In a tale set in Manchester entitled "The Little Fishmonger" (1841) she compared the situation endured by the lower classes.

> There is an immensity of privation endured by the lower classes. As an Irishwoman I see it less than others, because the peasantry of my own country suffer and bear so much more.[53]

One of the main reasons for her later obscurity was that she was out of kilter with the subsequent development of Irish nationalism in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Her automatic assumption that the Union was the preferred option and that the Irish peasant simply could not survive without English assistance became increasingly unpopular and untenable.

Childhood

The concept of childhood is constructed within a variety of discourses and disciplines, one of which is Harry Hendrick's taxonomy of British childhoods.[54] Hendrick formulates a number of classifications ranging from "The Natural

Child" to "The Wage-Earning Child" to "The Delinquent Child," covering a chronological survey of the history of British childhood from the early nineteenth century.[55] The contexts of Romanticism and Evangelicalism in Hall's era meant that she saw childhood through the lens of prevailing views on education arising from the writings of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (as discussed in Chapter 4) and those of her religious beliefs. While there are elements of Hendrick's "Natural Child" and "Romantic Child" in Hall's portraits of childhood, his "Evangelical Child" fits Hall's child model most closely with its attendant association with Original Sin and the need for redemption. Hannah More was Hall's "Polar Star since infancy"[56] and Hall was influenced by More's emphasis on home, family, duty, love and respect and the Evangelical priority to correct the corrupt influences of Original Sin. Whilst not at the extreme level of "The Evil Child" as outlined in Theorizing Childhood, where children are "demonic, harbourers of potentially dark forces,"[57] Hall's position on childhood was unfailingly didactic. Adults are omnipresent in her children's books, serving to control, protect and guide the child along the correct path and ready to warn of ill-consequences if this path is not pursued. There is never a situation where the child is more knowing than the adult and Hall always asserts the necessity for obedience and honesty.

Mitzi Myers's dramatic revision of the historiography of the didactic writers, which brought about a reappraisal of previously ignored tales for children, is reflected in my approach to Hall's mission in the light of this legacy.[58] Myers referred to how these early writers addressed the morals of young female readers through fictional "Mentorias."

> Mentorias never speak of women's rights, but they make large strategic claims for female nature and capacities and for woman's ability to make a difference in her social world.[59]

Mary Hilton draws attention to the fact that figures such as Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth and Anna Laetitia Barbauld "subscribed to very different beliefs and moved in different circles" and did not all think alike.[60] Therefore while Hall refers to her debt to such mentors, her ideological position was not always

identical. She utilised those elements conducive to her own situation and beliefs which were then aired in her publications for young people.

Jacqueline Rose turns the question of children's literature back on the author. Instead of inquiring what children want or need from literature, Rose asked "what it is that adults, through literature, want or demand of the child."[61] Apart from Hall's didactic position therefore, this raises the question of the therapeutic release she achieved through the creation of her literary works. Rose's assertion that childhood persists as "something which we endlessly rework in our attempt to build an image of our own history"[62] is an important position that facilitates an understanding of the centrality of Hall's own childhood and its far-reaching impact on her literary output. Apart from providing the settings and characters of the sketches that launched her career, her Wexford childhood played an integral role in her school, animal and fairy stories as shown in Chapter 4. The diversity inherent in the concept of childhood whether it is the notion of the childhood itself, the varied positions of the didactic writers on childhood, or the relationship of the author towards her own childhood are all key factors informing the dissertation.

Gender

My working definition of gender is that of Mary Poovey's "Proper Lady," an ideal of feminine behaviour that culminated according to Poovey in the nineteenth-century paradigm of "The Angel of the House."[63] The Proper Lady was devoted to her husband, self-sacrificing, self-effacing, passive and pure. In The Proper Lady, Poovey examines how some women authors became professional writers despite the strictures of propriety and the conventions of "proper – or innate – femininity" that could either inhibit creative impulses or provoke strategies of subversion.[64] Poovey addresses the important link with the spread of Evangelicalism[65] and the focus on spiritual reformation and social improvement, both cornerstones of Hall's mission. The virtues of hard work, self-discipline, temperance and cleanliness coupled with the extension of women's domestic activities into her local sphere through charitable work were central in Hall's oeuvre.

These constructions of femininity were equally visible in the art that emerged in the course of the nineteenth century. Lynda Nead has explored the representations of the feminine ideal in works such as George Elgar Hicks's triptych Woman's Mission (1863) that depicted scenes of woman as mother, wife and daughter.[66] Nead addressed the multiplicity of discourses on sexuality evident in the subject matter of the period, the bourgeois ideal versus the many pictorial representations of woman as adulteress, prostitute and social victim. The illustrations in Hall's publications can be read in the context of these constructed representations.

Gender roles were propagated by many etiquette books and conduct manuals. One such handbook was Sarah Stickney Ellis's The Daughters of England in which Ellis defined woman's nature and mission:

> To love is woman's nature – to be beloved, is the consequence of her having properly exercised and controlled that nature. To love is woman's duty – to be beloved is her reward.[67]

This view is remarkably similar to Hall's overriding concern in Midsummer Eve, which concludes with the sentiment "that woman's true happiness – the only happiness her pure soul can taste of, unalloyed – consists in loving and being beloved."[68] Hall ostensibly mimicked the Proper Lady but as will be shown in this dissertation, in particular in Chapter 5, she also engaged in subtle strategies of resistance in the process.

Conceptual: Ekphrasis

Central to the argument of this thesis is Hall's deployment of ekphrasis, which enables her to mimic a complex range of attitudes and values. The concept of ekphrasis dates back to the ancient Greeks[69] but interest in ekphrasis shows no sign of abating, with a recent volume of the journal Classical Philology devoted entirely to the subject.[70] In their "Introduction: Eight Ways of Looking at an Ekphrasis," Shadi Bartsch and Jaś Elsner acknowledge that ekphrasis defies definition due to its multiform nature. They assert that the moment of ekphrasis can be characterised as "gendered, spatial, static, epiphanic, mute, appealing

to audience in the text or outside the text, or to no one but its speaker in the text."[71]

For Plato, c. 360 BC, it was associated with capturing the essence of forms or creating a template of an ideal form.[72] The word derived from the Greek verb "ekphrazein," which meant to speak out or tell in full and was used to provide an intense and virtuosic pictorial description of a person, scene or object. The composition of an ekphrasis was an advanced exercise of the Progymnasmata which was a handbook of rhetorical exercises for youths.[73] The success of the exercise was measured by how vividly and skilfully the speaker could conjure up the described object for the listening audience. Ekphrasis was used widely for learned commentaries on classical texts such as Homer's Iliad. Paintings, sculpture and buildings were the most common subjects and this continued right through the Byzantine Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Ekphrasis enhanced the original art work through its ability to describe the essence of the work of art which existed in another medium. One of the most common examples used to define ekphrasis is John Keats's poem Ode on a Grecian Urn written in 1819. Keats combined descriptions of representations that could have been on the urn with other things that could not but the reader's imagination is inspired and transformed by the experience and the reader is able to envisage that which is described as if the object were physically present.

The related concept *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting so is poetry)[74] which Horace put forward in Ars Poetica in 361 AD, was much discussed over the ages, in particular during the Renaissance, giving rise to debate over the relative strengths of the sister arts.[75] W. J. Thomas Mitchell explores it as a process whereby one medium of art relates to another, traditionally literature to visual art, or in today's terms it could be a cinematic representation of a literary text.[76] This is what lies at the heart of the ekphrastic endeavour. Gotthold E. Lessing (1729-81) rejected *ut pictura poesis* and in his essay Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry, he wrote of their separate character; poetry's character extended in time and painting's character in space. Mitchell interprets the latter as "beautiful, mute, spatial objects of visual pleasure."[77] James Heffernan has described the continuous "struggle for mastery between

word and image" in ekphrasis throughout the centuries.[78] There was great interest among the wider populace for art into the nineteenth century and key writers such as John Ruskin (1819-1900), who was a close friend of the Halls, and Walter Pater (1839-94) wrote influential aesthetic treatises about historical and contemporary art and artists, enthusiastically embracing ekphrastic discourse in the process.[79]

The importance of ekphrasis, not only to literary and artistic genres, has gathered momentum in recent times, in particular since 1987 when the First International Conference on Word & Image was held at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.[80] Seminal writings on the topic by Murray Krieger and W. J. T. Mitchell have generated further debate.[81] Krieger's notion of how the visual can produce the "still moment," shaping language from a temporal into a spatial array, shows his development of Lessing's debate. The literary usually is understood to "move" the narrative and the visual "stills" it. Yet ekphrasis can bring about a more dynamic relationship where the visual and the written exchange roles or participate in a dialectical struggle for truth. Mitchell's discussion on the three moments of realisation: ekphrastic indifference, ekphrastic hope, and ekphrastic fear, engages with the possibilities and anxieties inherent in the ekphrastic encounter. Krieger and Murray have a preference for what John Hollander calls the "notional" ekphrases of imaginary or lost works of art, seeing them as purer versions of ekphrasis than that relating to actual or well-known objects.[82]

Ekphrasis therefore carries multiple possible interpretations. It can be used to refer to the essence of an ideal form; it is a rhetorical exercise; it can intensify the experience of an imaginary encounter; stimulate creativity; and form the basis of an entire discipline such as art history. It has generated debate over the centuries regarding the relative strengths of the sister arts, most notably that of art and literature; and the stages in the ekphrastic encounter have been theorised. In Hall's ekphrastic discourses, several meanings of the term predominate. There is an "epiphanic" quality to her rhetoric and she appealed both to audiences within and outside the text, conforming to definitions outlined by Bartsch and Elsner's in their introduction to

ekphrasis. There is the gendered aspect of her *écriture feminine* and instead of notional ekphrasis, she always related her writings to actual works of art, part of her wider aim to publicise the art and to make it better known. Appendix C provides a short selection of her ekphrastic writings.

Conceptual: Mimesis

Mimesis, the idea that art imitates reality, has been one of the central concepts in Western aesthetics since even before the time of Plato and Aristotle. Gunter Gebauer has written about how mimesis has evolved over time. "But mimesis moves with history, coming to expression in forms appropriate to respective historical periods.[83] The fluid nature and indeterminacy of mimesis is the most constant thing about it.[84] It derives from the Greek "mimesis," meaning to imitate or to mimic, and in aesthetic terms it usually refers to the imitation of nature.[85] There are two main aspects to it, that of imitation, usually of nature "as object, phenomena, or process" and that of artistic representation.[86] Plato dismissed the represented illusion as deceptive and inferior to nature, the original starting point, whereas Aristotle saw the potential for improving upon nature, leading to the possibility of universalising beyond the particular. The creative force was something that Aristotle saw was shared both by nature and humans. In his Poetics, he wrote about humans as mimetic beings, inspired to create art in order to reflect reality. His concept of catharsis, when referring to the theatre, came about through the viewer's recognition of and empathy with an unfolding event and its dramatic portrayal. However, there needed to be some distance between the work of art and life itself. Hence, for Aristotle, literature was more enlightening than history which dealt with facts. Literature and art raise higher questions about what might have taken place or what ought to have occurred rather than the factual details of the specific event. Mimesis for Artistotle "shows" or represents something to a viewer compared to diegesis which involved a narrator "telling" a story. Kathryn Hume's definition of fantasy and its relationship to mimesis in the context of Aristotelian thought is discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.[87]

Other areas of mimesis have emerged during later epochs. During the Middle Ages, God was the ultimate object of imitation whereas during the Renaissance the inter-textual relationship with classic authors was fore-grounded and referenced by the makers of mimetic worlds. This move towards a more secular perception was evident during the seventeenth century in that mimesis became an instrumental element in the expression of regal symbolism and political power. Later, the shift from an Enlightenment preoccupation with the idealisation of nature to the Romantic emphasis on subjectivity and individual creativity was ultimately to lead to the notion of art for art's sake, and morality and politics played little or no part in the process. However, for the majority of the early Victorians, including Hall, morality remained a guiding and central principal. Frederick Burwick[88] showed how the Romantics' fixation with individuality brought about a realignment of mimetic theory, with writers creating their own paradigm for mimesis that allowed them to represent not just external reality, but the very act of creative artistic production. In the nineteenth century, the French social novel became the mimetic composition of reality itself. According to Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), conclusions about a man's internal state could be extrapolated from his external aspect.[89] In other words, in the nineteenth century, the bourgeois person becomes the object of literary representation, making his or her world in reference to others. Bourgeois society itself was described as mimetic. Stephen L. Gardner explained it as follows:

> The old, pre-modern myths collapse with the rise of "bourgeois" society, but myth does not simply disappear. A sacred order previously sought without is now pursued within. Mythic divinity is absorbed into the self, and the self, or a certain image of it, becomes the new deity to which sacrifice must be made... the "self" in question is not, in reality, *one's own self*, but the real or imagined self of *another* who evidently stands in the way of one's own ambition and provokes it.[90]

The terms "Realism" and "Naturalism" replaced the notion of "Imitation" in the nineteenth century. Art was concerned not so much with reproducing things, but

like science, exploring them and this was particularly evident towards the end of the century. Émile Zola commented that whereas the Romantics saw reality through coloured lens, the Realists saw life through a clear lens, thus their art expressed reality and truth with even greater intensity.[91]

Into the twentieth century, mimesis moved away from its earlier connection with nature, idealised or otherwise. It emerged again as an important concept, in particular through Walter Benjamin's interpretation of its anthropological significance. Benjamin (1892-1940) associated the mimetic faculty as something evident in man's higher functions. Other philosophers of the Frankfurt School such as Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer engaged with mimesis as a basis for a semiotic discourse on reality. Jacques Derrida's interpretation was focused on the idea of texts and their relationship to what had gone before. Each text plays with earlier texts, revealing and concealing, proliferating and never attaining closure. Through Derrida's deconstructive methods, images always have an element of ambiguity as they hold on to their fictional and illusory elements whilst simultaneously creating a connection between a person and the reality portrayed. One of the most important works on mimesis in the twentieth century was Erich Auerbach's Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature which described mimesis as an ongoing attempt to approximate social reality.[92] With essays on literary fragments ranging from Homer and the Old Testament to Stendhal (1783-1840) and Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), Auerbach's humanistic approach sought to empathise with the historical realities of the individual authors. As Edward Said acknowledged in his introduction to Mimesis, Auerbach was not trying to produce "a totally coherent, neatly inclusive view of the subject ... Auerbach offers no system, no shortcut to what he puts before us as a history of the representation of reality in Western literature." However, Said saw that the tragic flaw was that Auerbach, like any other author or critic studying literary representations of the historical world, could only do so "from the limited perspective of their own time and their own work."[93] This insight is equally significant when considering Hall and her work.

Mimesis therefore can refer to the imitation of nature; creativity and the ability to empathise and relate to the world; the emulation of truth through a divine, regal or subjective engagement; or an anthropological approach that encompasses the human body and the cultural practices of everyday life. While the meanings associated with mimesis are myriad, this dissertation will be selective. Some of Hall's work can be aligned to aspects of Aristotelian mimetic philosophy and indeed her evangelical thrust saw parallels with mimetic world views from the Middle Ages. However, the conceptual framework adopted in this dissertation acknowledges twentieth-century critical debate. Influenced in part by their mimetic insights, I have drawn on the work of Walter Benjamin, Homi Bhabha, Albert Bandura, Jacques Derrida and Luce Irigaray. Their varied positions on colonial mimesis, social learning theory, and empowerment in relation to nationality, childhood and gender, inform my discussion of these areas in my exploration of Hall's work.

Conceptual: Chapter Outline and Rationale

My study of Hall's use of ekphrasis and my choice of mimesis as an overall framework will focus in particular on how these concepts help to provide an understanding of her aesthetic perspective and her imperial, didactic and gendered sensibility. Her aesthetic perspective can be seen most obviously in her relationship to visual art which is explored in Chapter 2. This chapter, entitled "Ekphrasis and Mimesis: Hall and the Search for 'Truth' through Art," analyses the centrality of visual art to Hall's work. She wrote extensively about art, featured art and artists in her novels and sketches, and empathised with the artist's view of the world. As expressed in her writing, her view was that divine creativity in nature was reflected in the artist's engagement with and response to reality. Hall sought to intensify this experience and so share the moral "truth" of fine art with as wide an audience as possible. The chapter explores the significance of the Halls as collectors of art, their association with leading artists in their circle and the aesthetics of the early Victorian period.

The perception that ekphrastic aesthetics move us, morally and emotionally, led Hall to popularise art for this very reason. Hall and her husband

were class conscious, and they were passionate about spreading the word about art to all classes of society, especially those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. They saw how the right kind of art could have a powerful educative and moral impact on viewers. Walter Benjamin observed how new methods of reproduction transformed the object for the viewer who could now see "high art" within their own environment.[94] The proliferation of prints and illustrated books during the mid-nineteenth century had the potential to bring about moral change in individuals if harnessed correctly. The reproduced image did not detract from the aura of the original painting for the Halls, especially when the message was crucial from a didactic perspective. S. C. Hall's various ventures, whether reproducing engravings from the Robert Vernon collection, the Great Exhibition of 1851 or the Queen's pictures,[95] was all part of the process to spread the word about beautiful, good art that was both enjoyable and instructional. In order to demonstrate Hall's relationship with the visual, I draw on W. J. T. Mitchell's three phases of realisation: ekphrastic indifference, hope, and fear, to evaluate the degree to which the illustrations add to or detract from her writings. In this way, Chapter 2 provides a framework by which to explore the illustrations in the remaining chapters.

Just as ekphrastic writing inspired aesthetic engagement, it was also harnessed successfully in the service of the expanding market in travel writing. Since the second half of the eighteenth century, travellers to "exotic" lands used ekphrastic discourse to recount with enthusiasm the people, places and art or antiquities of those areas, encouraging others to follow in their footsteps. Hall's frequently expressed aim, which may have had its roots in her didactic, evangelising impulse, was to spread the word about Ireland. She wanted to instil greater knowledge and empathy in those who were unaware of, misinformed about or antagonistic towards the people she wanted to assist and transform. Ekphrasis was not just a descriptive static mode. In the full sense of the word, it required a dynamic interpretation or engagement with the subject matter and this is what she sought to do when writing about Ireland and the Irish as examined in Chapter 3. Entitled "'Taken from the Life:' Mimesis and Mimicry in Hall's Portraits of the Irish," this chapter engages with mimesis as

articulated in aspects of Walter Benjamin's and Homi Bhabha's approaches to the subject.

Walter Benjamin argued that man has the highest capacity for producing similarities and that there is a compulsion to become and behave like something else.[96] Hall's ambivalence in relation to her Irish identity echoes throughout her writings as a recurring agenda, urging the Irish to behave more like the idealised English, for their own good and future prosperity. As an Irish woman, she wanted to make the Irish more favourable to an English audience, especially as she herself lived in England and was acutely sensitive to attitudes both towards herself and her countrymen and women. The embarrassment she felt at their flaws and the conviction that she could resolve their difficulties with simple advice as in her Stories of the Irish Peasantry, meant that she was less than sympathetically received as the century progressed, especially amongst critics in Ireland.

Homi Bhabha has described how "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognisable 'Other,' as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite."[97] The veracity of Hall's "sketches" or "portraits" was tempered with the reproving eye of an author who believed that her subjects would be transformed if they could only "mimic" their English neighbours and become other than what they were. Homi Bhabha's articulation of colonial mimicry frames the discussion of Chapter 3 but he was not just talking about dependent colonial relations where the "Other" can only be verified or actualised by the coloniser. He was more concerned with what he called the menace of mimicry. "The menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority."[98] Chapter 3 analyses how Hall's Irish writings can be assessed in this context by exploring the complexity of her relationship with Ireland, her ambivalence towards the Irish and her Anglo-Irish identity. It begins with an examination of her early writing career, from the rich storytelling tradition of her childhood in Wexford to the varied influences leading to her use of the literary sketch for her distinctive Irish portraits. Hall's interest in phrenology and physiognomy is highlighted, with its attendant potential to depict her Irish characters negatively.

Publishers chose Scottish artist Erskine Nicol (1825-1904) to illustrate a later compilation of Hall's tales, because, I will argue, they saw the parallels between Hall's and Nicol's comic yet undeniably stereotypical portraits. The final section of Chapter 3 demonstrates how images work to support, subvert or interpret aspects of Hall's texts, through an analysis of three key areas: portraits of the Irish cabin, depictions of idealised Irish women, and images of the beggar/storyteller.

In another rendering of the meaning of "mimicry," the child learns from the adult through imitation and that concept is central to Chapter 4, which explores Hall's children's literature; her experiments with the genres of school, animal, fairytale and ghost stories. I open Chapter 4 with an examination of the notion of mimicry as outlined in Albert Bandura's social learning theory. The process whereby the young reader is attracted to the narrative, and learns by observing, imitating and internalising is fundamental to Hall's children's books. Likewise Walter Benjamin referred to "child's play" as the training school for mimetic behaviour, whereby the young person identifies fully with objects, their meanings, and their past. Hall believed that careful instruction on the part of a responsible adult therefore provides the key to nurturing a child through to its potential. If a tale is successfully related, the reader learns the consequences of good and evil actions and anticipates similar outcomes for similar behaviour. To produce such a response, the tale must be effective and memorable so that it makes an impact on the reader.

Hall took her own responsibilities in this respect both as an editor and author very seriously indeed. In the preface to The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830), she reiterated her oft quoted maxim: "I entreat them to recollect, that amusement is, at least, useless, if it do [sic] not contribute to information – and that the mind and heart may be improved even during the gayest moments.[99] Her frequent addresses in her texts to her readers, confirmed her belief that direct engagement added to the quality of the relationship between them, assisting her readers in their identification with her characters. Through Hall's distinct style of narration and her use of the visualisation process, either through

the power of her language or the use of illustration, her ekphrastic discourse significantly contributed to the child's mimetic experience.

Chapter 4 begins with a consideration of Hall's own conceptual frames of reference, gleaned from her understanding of prevailing pedagogic theories and her awareness of the writings of those in her literary circle. Her conviction that her childhood education could provide a successful model for others is implied in her many references to her personal experiences in Bannow, Co. Wexford. Her school and animal stories are studied as domestic moral tales and the fantasy and supernatural elements are the focus of her fairytales and ghost stories. There is a case study of her only full-length Irish fairytale Midsummer Eve: A Fairy Tale of Love (1848) and her interest in the supernatural is explored in the section on ghost stories in tandem with a discussion on the Halls and their active participation in Spiritualism.

Hall's shrewd grasp of the limitations and obstacles confronting the woman writer in the early nineteenth century is explored in Chapter 5 and is entitled "Mimesis as Empowerment and Ekphrasis as Hall's *Écriture Féminine*: Gender Issues in Hall's Work." According to Luce Irigaray, mimesis is a process of resubmitting women to stereotypical views of women in order to call the views into question.[100] In her essay on "This Sex Which Is Not One," Irigaray provides examples of this method which she calls strategic essentialism.[101] Stereotypical views must not be repeated faithfully so that if women are viewed as illogical for example, women should then speak logically about this view, thus undermining the original stereotype. Hall could comment freely on conditions for women writers through this method of highlighting stereotypes but she always ensured that she was never perceived as anything less than a "proper" woman according to the conventions of the age. She outwardly rejected the vulgarity of the "blue" (bluestocking) or the "strong-minded" woman but all her writings show her deep concern for women and the trials confronting them in all areas of their lives. Attitudes to the propriety of writing as a profession are discussed through an analysis of work by Hall that highlighted this topic such as "The Curse of Property: Alice Lee" (1835) and A Woman's Story (1857). As a hard-working editor and author, Hall was acutely aware of

the economic constraints and the marketing opportunities available to her. This chapter therefore explores strategic essentialism as a critical tool to expose the complexity of Hall's interaction with the question of gender.

Hall's gendered sensibility is revealed in her ekphrastic writings which I consider a distinctive form of nineteenth-century *écriture féminine*. As a female viewing subject, within the confines of a restrictive gender regime, and operating within a male-dominated publishing hierarchy, I argue that while she overtly adhered to the conventions of the age, subtle readings of her texts and her correspondence can reveal a more intriguing engagement with the challenges confronting her.

Chapter 6, entitled "Case Study: Nationality, Gender and Childhood in Hall's Writings for the Firm of W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh," reinforces the effectiveness of mimesis and ekphrasis as concepts. It consists of a case study of one major publisher, William and Robert Chambers in Edinburgh, with which Hall had close links throughout her working career and it revisits themes in the earlier chapters. The chapter examines the key areas of nationality, gender and childhood in her work for Chambers, specifically her Stories of the Irish Peasantry; her titles for Chambers's Miniature Library of Fiction; and finally her four books for Chambers's Library for Young People. In addition to the core subject matter, topics covered in this chapter include an analysis of Hall's earnings, print runs and correspondence relating to her financial transactions with Chambers. The firm's early marketing strategies are also assessed, providing a case study of their approaches to book illustration over a key fifty-year period from 1830s-80s. During a time which saw great technical advances in print reproduction methods, it is important to see how one successful publisher operated within such an environment, making decisions that defined the ethos and the appearance of their product. Hall's contribution to Chambers' has not been explored by commentators elsewhere and this chapter offers original source material that highlights the business of publishing both from the publisher's and writer's perspective.

The dissertation as a whole is organised thematically and it explores each key area in a separate chapter, following an initial chapter that analyses

Hall's aesthetic perspective and the suitability of mimesis and ekphrasis as concepts with which to examine her work. Chapter 2 provides a framework with which to explore the illustrations in the remaining chapters and sets the context for her aesthetic sensibility. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 highlight Hall's engagement with nationality, childhood and gender respectively, and Chapter 6 encompasses all three areas through its focus on her output for one publisher over several decades of her career. Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with an assessment of the key points that emerge from these distinct yet related areas of Hall's literary output.

Formal Elements

The third section of this chapter examines aspects of Hall's writing from a formal perspective, thus providing an overview for subsequent chapters. An outline of the following is assessed: narrator's voice; settings; characters; plots and themes; language and dialect; genre; and the editorial question.

Formal: Narrator's Voice

Taking Gérard Genette's theoretical model with which to situate this aspect of Hall's work, Genette defines three basic types of narrators: the heterodiegetic where the narrator is absent from their narrative; the homodiegetic where the narrator is inside the narrative, as in a story recounted in the first person; and autodiegetic where the narrator is inside the narrative and also the main character.[102] Hall's early historical novels were her most heterodiegetic but she was most at home with homodiegetic (Can Wrong Be Right?), autodiegetic (A Woman's Story) or a combination of both. At all times she endeavoured to keep the reader within sight of the narrator, vital for her didactic aims. In the story "A Great Trial," the scene opens with a child requesting a true life story from the author. He says "Mrs Hall knows very well what I mean – I want facts."[103] There is no pretence as to her identity – she positions herself in the room with her audience of children. In her tales, Hall often embedded a character that bore many of her own attributes, but she also retained the power of the omniscient narrator. Her Sketches and Stories of the Irish Peasantry, discussed in

Chapters 3 and 6, are typical of this voice which Hall employed. It gave her flexibility to shift perspectives and to comment freely to her readers on art, local politics, gender politics and moral behaviour. Her maternal authorial voice is a didactic one, encouraging and promoting good behaviour and hard work, simultaneously warning of the consequences of failing to do so.

Hall the "author" is difficult to separate from Hall the "narrator or storyteller." Her emphasis on the veracity of her narratives is convincing. She tells us that she is reporting on what she knows to be true, based on her own experience and memories. Yet her admission that she also embellishes the truth, had no difficulty making up legends and preferred fiction to fact is addressed throughout the dissertation. As she says in her introduction to the Sketches, "they are, in general, accurate."[104] This inherent unreliability adds interest and ambiguity.

Hall frequently used the framing narrative. She commences a story which reminds her of another. This is recounted and the original characters mull over the events, discuss the outcome and the lesson is acknowledged. This is particularly effective where an adult such as Florence Clanricard in "The Irish Cabin" discusses the events of the embedded narrative with the child, Jemima Rayworth as outlined in some detail in Chapter 2 or in Chapter 4 where Lady Mandeville's use of the fable brings home her message more convincingly to her daughter Annette in "An English Farm-Yard."

Hall experimented with the epistolary format with Nelly Nowlan. It was a less formal approach than that found in the classic novel of this type, Pamela by Samuel Richardson. The letters are all one-way from Nelly to her aunt Peggy, written after Nelly left Ireland to find domestic employment in England. Each chapter is presented as a letter in which Nelly brings her aunt up-to-date with her experiences and adventures in England. The device adds immediacy to the story and it is surprising that Hall did not use this approach more frequently.

One of Hall's most unusual voices was that of her "Nobody," the narrator in A Woman's Story, discussed in Chapter 5. [105] This narrator makes much of being so familiar to everyone that she is taken for granted and all the characters feel completely relaxed in her presence. She denies that she plays any active

role in the proceedings stating that: "it is my intention less to record a 'story' than merely to note down people and events as they appeared or occurred."[106] Nonetheless her "Nobody" is the pivotal point in the story, the centre around whom the characters converge, develop, react and are judged. It is a self-conscious ploy and thus more distracting to the reader than that of a more conventional narrator. Whilst not breaking any new ground with her narrative voices, Hall was both eclectic and experimental.

Formal: Settings

One area of Hall's writings on which critics appear to agree unanimously was that she created a truly authentic sense of place. Ingman wrote of her "evocative descriptions of the Irish countryside"[107] and Sloan that her descriptions are "observed closely."[108] The village of Bannow was the setting for her earliest literary work, an area that evoked so many happy memories throughout her life. S. C. Hall included an excerpt she wrote to introduce her first volume of Sketches where she described her regular walk back from her morning sea-bath past an ornamental cottage, covered with ivy and with a gable that provided refuge for birds:

> That cottage was my paradise! I could hear the ocean rolling in the distance; the refreshing sea-breeze, passing over fields of clover and banks of roses, was freighted with perfume.[109]

This gable cottage featured in many subsequent works such as Midsummer Eve, Grandmamma's Pockets and Chronicles of Cosy Nook. All but one of the stories of the first series of her Sketches were set in Bannow and the reader meets the familiar characters throughout, just like old friends. The review in The Edinburgh Literary Journal described their pleasing interconnection:

> Thus, without the appearance of elaboration – while every link of the dozen is a separate ring – the whole makes a chain which embraces all the loves, friendships, characters and occurrences of Bannow.[110]

In her second series of Sketches, Hall acknowledged that the new series was of the same family, "but distinguished from the former, as more general in their

character, and not confined to one particular spot."[111] Bannow featured but there were sketches set in other parts of Ireland and in England.

As most scholarship to date has centred on her Irish writing, it may come as a surprise to note that Hall was versatile and adventurous with her choice of location. Of the forty plus children's books written by Hall, four titles are set in Ireland; nineteen in England (predominantly), Scotland or Wales; seven in England but featuring Irish characters; and ten with mixed settings. The latter included those set in Switzerland, Savoy, Paris or Philadelphia. Three of Hall's nine novels were set in Ireland, the remaining six in England but of these, three featured secondary Irish characters whilst the other three had no Irish characters. Of her English tales, London, and the surrounding counties were used regularly while she had a special fondness for Devonshire and the south of England along the coast from Brighton to Littlehampton.

In many of her tales, a rural setting, especially as an environment for a child, was immensely preferable to city life. When Isabel de Mondalberto, the young heroine of "The Mountain Daisy" is forced to leave her happy home in a Devon glade for Paris, the author comments that she was: "transplanted with all the purity of innocence and virtue fresh about her to that hot-bed of thoughtlessness and folly!"[112] This "rural/truth versus city/falsity" trope is regularly aired by Hall in her children's books as explored in Chapter 4. The settings are important to set the mood for Hall's tales. Her ghost stories for example in Chapter 4 are associated with brooding and forbidding castle scenarios. The combination of her Irish background, her Swiss connections and her regular travels abroad with her husband, provided Hall with a diverse range of source material in which to set her work.

Formal: Characters

With regard to Hall's characters, it is fair to note the following four points: her Irish characters in particular were lively, memorable and acutely observed; she frequently used the binary trope; her characters did not tend to develop greatly in the course of her tales; and she frequently resorted to stereotypes and stock character types.

Hall's descriptions of her Bannow inhabitants brought about her early literary success. Characters such as Old Frank, Peggy the Fisher, Master Ben, Peter the Prophet and The Bannow Postman were authentically and energetically portrayed. Apart from launching her career, she was encouraged to bring out a second series in which she stated that "she will have acted wisely in bidding the subject adieu." However, thanks to her evident success, she continued in a similar vein with Lights and Shadows of Irish Life (1838) and Stories of the Irish Peasantry (1840). Whilst the liveliness of her Irish characters translated well to the theatre in productions such as The Groves of Blarney (1836) and Mabel's Curse (1837) and a later Irish work Nelly Nowlan and Other Stories (1868) was well received, her non-Irish literary work has not received the same critical attention and as such is deemed less memorable. There was a lightness of touch in her delineation of her Irish characters and the humour permeates the tales, albeit often at the expense of her Irish characters. She frequently introduced Irish characters to other tales or novels to liven them up as I discuss in Chapter 3 referring to her novel A Woman's Story.

A typical example of Hall's use of the binary trope can be found in The Swan's Egg (1851) which is explored in Chapter 4. The amiable Kate finds inner strength during periods of adversity, whereas her sister Jane selfishly clings to worldly things and has no empathy with the misfortunes or needs of others. This character trope is repeated time and again: "Passages of Jenny Careful & Jane Careless," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1835); and "'There is No Hurry!' – A Tale," Chambers's Edinburgh Journal Sept. (1842). In the broader sense of her overall portraits of Irish and English characters, Hall frequently compares the hard-working, conscientious characters that usually have some English blood in them with the stereotypical indolent and careless Irish who generally made life difficult for the former.

Linked to the portrayal of these binary types is the fact that these characters seldom develop substantially. Virtuous characters generally fare well, ultimately by showing endurance and independence while flawed characters show poor judgement and often continue on their downward spiral. The latter point is quite ironic in that one of Hall's central aims was to educate

and motivate those with faults to recognise, imitate and be happier as a result of changed behaviour. Happily, in other instances, flawed characters such as Dick Shaw in "The Young Rebel" do eventually mend their ways. Despite his wretched life, wooden leg, eye patch and poverty, Dick was determined to help out in his local village as recompense to all who helped him. Similarly in many of her Stories of the Irish Peasantry, those with faults usually rectify them by the end of the story as in "It's Only a Drop!" where Ellen Murphy succeeds in making her fiancé take the pledge to give up alcohol for good.

One of the regular criticisms levelled against Hall was her stereotypical portrayal of the Irish. This is discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 6 but is also raised in Chapter 4. Whereas some of her portraits may indeed be seen as offensive, she was self-conscious about what she was doing and was as playful as she was prejudiced. Hall's oscillating relationship with Ireland dictated her position. At times she appeared to want to distance herself from the Irish, at other times she assures the reader that she was writing as one who unashamedly acknowledged her Irish roots.

Formal: Plots and Themes

Hall was a good storyteller, equally at home writing sketches and three-volume novels typical of the period. Her early sketches generally had one or two plots interwoven together such as in "Kelly the Piper," discussed in Chapter 3. In later editions of her Sketches, she frequently combined earlier shorter tales making the plots even more complex, as in "The Bannow Postman" that had at least three framed stories in the 1844 edition. Hall provided her readers with plenty of dramatic incidents. Her Sketches featured murders, duels, fights, smugglers, rapparees, hidden wills, blackmail, wasted fortunes, proposals and hauntings. She also provided insights into the wider historico-social forces impacting on the characters such as her many references to the events of the 1798 rebellion in the Wexford area.

Her earliest novels suffer from excessively complex plotting. Uncle Horace has three heroines, one flatly portrayed hero and too many secondary characters, locations and parallel plots. In later novels such as The Whiteboy or

Can Wrong Be Right? the focus is narrower and Hall maintains a tight control on all aspects of her story. Some of the classic plot devices were employed by Hall: reversals of fortune in both directions either from wealth (Uncle Horace) or poverty (Can Wrong Be Right?); the foundling device (The Outlaw, Marian, and "Kelly the Piper"); and fear of the consequences of bigamy (Uncle Horace, Marian, and A Woman's Story).

There are several dominant themes that emerge in Hall's work, emanating chiefly from her Evangelical beliefs. They are addressed in her didactic tales for children discussed in Chapter 4 but the same themes are explored in the other chapters also. They include the importance of hard work, independence, selflessness, the humble acceptance of one's station in life and the avoidance of vain ambition, the pursuit of wealth and prejudice towards the poor.

Formal: Language and Dialect

The use of the Irish dialect was something that Hall gave considerable thought to, as did many of her contemporaries.[113] She was conscious of its impact on the reader and different editions of her sketches and stories reveal the lengths she went to achieve the effect she desired. For example, the subtle differences between an early version of "Master Ben" that appeared in 1829 with that of the 1844 edition, can be seen in this excerpt:

> Well then – to-morrow, Frank tells me, that Mister Ben is to come to teach you cyphering, and good reason has Frank to know, for he drove the carriage to Mister Ben's own house, and heard the mistress say all about it; ...O miss dear, easy – easy – till I tie your sash; - there now, - now you may run off, but stay one little minute ... Mister Ben has fine learning, and expects much credit for teaching the like of you.[114]

> Well, then – to-morrow Frank tells me, Master Ben is to come to tache you the figures; and good rason has Frank to know, for he druv the carriage to Master Ben's own house, and hard the

> mistress say all about it; Oh, Miss, dear, asy – asy – till I tie yer sash! – there, now – now you may run off; but stay one little minit – take kindly to the figures. Master Ben has fine larning, and expects much credit for tacheing the likes of you.[115]

The later edition has far more dialect and local flavour. The critical comparisons with William Carleton's tales may have influenced her increased usage and she might have hoped that it would either help sales in Ireland or alternatively feed expectations for a more stereotypical linguistic expression in England. Keane criticises her for the inconsistency of her use of dialect and she compares Hall unfavourably with Carleton's more subtle use of dialect and his greater understanding of the peasant's speech rhythms.[116] Keane however admires Hall's success in portraying the colour and cadences of the Irish turn of phrase and provides examples of these. Despite Keane's and Sloan's preference for Carleton's use of dialect, it is pertinent to note that Carleton lessened the dialect effect after the first five stories in his Traits and Characteristics of the Irish Peasantry. He sacrificed the spontaneity of the storyteller narrator for the omniscient author who was more readily able to comment on Ireland. According to Brian Earls he used bilingual fiction – standard English for the author's commentary and Hiberno-English dialect for his characters - something that has resonance also in Hall's work:

> There is, in consequence, a striking discontinuity between what the characters say of themselves, and of their lives, and what the author chooses to say about them.[117]

Hall's awareness of the challenges of dialect for an English audience was evident in her sketch for children entitled "Irish Jerry" in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1836). At first she was delighted to hear the cheerful brogue of her native land when Jerry offers her a donkey ride at Brighton. Over the first eight pages of this twenty-page story, she lets Jerry speaks in dialect before announcing:

> Still his story might weary in the telling, if repeated in his own strange language, for an Irish man, woman, boy, or girl never yet told a tale straight forward; they are fond of parentheses, and

> observations, and annotations, some which *have*, and others have *not*, to do with the information they desire to give.[118]

She tells the story "straight" for the remainder of the story, apologising at the end as follows: "My tale grows too long. Had I told it in the Irish boy's own words I think it would have been more interesting."[119] It is tempting to interpret this as part laziness on Hall's part as she may have found it tedious sustaining the consistency of the dialect but she may also have been worried that she would have lost the English reader along the way had she persevered with it. What prompted the fluctuation in the use of dialect with Hall? Among the interacting factors are: her ongoing search for verisimilitude; the competition from other writers; requests from publishers; and further proof of her authenticity as an Irish writer.

Alternatively, dialect could confirm the "otherness" of the subject, consequently diminishing the subject, portraying him or her in a stereotypical manner, a figure of fun and entertainment for an English audience. Many of her secondary characters fulfil such a role, such as Simon in The Swan's Egg or Johnny Fagin in The Whisperer, both discussed in Chapter 6 or Katty Macane, the faithful nurse in Marian whose monologues in the Irish dialect are certainly pitched as light entertainment for the reader. Hall's extensive experience in writing for the theatre meant that she knew what her audience expected and how far a reader could cope with regional accents. The fashion for dialect varied widely throughout the nineteenth century and authors adjusted accordingly.

Formal: Genre

Hall experimented with various novelistic sub-genres. A glance at her novels shows an early commitment to the historical novel with The Buccaneer (1832) set in the Cromwellian period in seventeenth-century England and The Outlaw (1835) during the reign of William and Mary. She returned to the same period with her final novel The Fight of Faith (1869) which was set in France, England and Ireland and ends at the Battle of the Boyne. Her Irish novel, The Whiteboy

(1845) was set in the recent historical past in 1822. The legacy of Scott whom she admired was evident in her lifelong interest in this genre.[120]

However, while many critics were favourable towards her historical novels, in particular her earliest two and The Whiteboy, others asserted that her real strength lay in the domestic novel. Uncle Horace (1837), Marian (1840), A Woman's Story (1857) and Can Wrong Be Right?(1862) were all domestic novels in the sentimental tradition. Domestic or sentimental novels, popularised in the eighteenth century, referred chiefly to tales featuring middle or upper-middle class situations and a more intimate microcosm of the world. The focus was on the challenges faced by virtuous heroines (rarely heroes), who, through their steadfast honour and unwavering morals, ultimately received their just rewards. Samuel Richardson's Pamela (1740) and Oliver Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield (1766) were early exponents of this genre and Hall was familiar with Goldsmith's work. Her Tales of Women's Trials (1835), a compilation of such virtuous heroines, showed her skill and range of plotting scenarios for her domestic stories. Sentimental novels evoked strong emotional responses and they appealed to readers' empathetic sensibilities. Hall's domestic novels demonstrate a keen awareness of the Gothic tradition, which anticipated some of the concerns of the sensation novels later in the century. She never dwelled on the excesses or the depraved horrors of either genre but she used melodrama effectively. Uncle Horace boasts a duplicitous Count and his scheming sidekick, a madwoman, a kidnapped heroine, bigamy and deathbed confessions. While she never went as far as the Banim Brothers and Gerald Griffin in her depiction of brutality, she does not shy away from references to factual events and murder as in her Sketches.[121]

Formal: The Editorial Question

Isabella Fyvie Mayo, in her account of her two friends following the death of S. C. Hall, suggested that Hall ignored the dry arts of editing and proofing and that she "owed much to the professional skill and dexterity of her husband's polishing hand."[122] Hall may have cultivated this impression in order to publicly credit his superiority as an editor and thus reinforce her own primary role as

wife rather than author. Given the workload they both had, the volume of correspondence they got through and their separate editorial commitments, it seems unlikely that Hall would want or expect her husband to fulfil this role. Apart from the early days when she was learning her craft and he was a professional editor, there is little reason why she would not edit her own copy. Proof may be shown in a manuscript version of "Waking Dreams" from the Huntington Library, California (Appendix H). At least 10 changes have been made to the text on this first page alone, and the corrections are in her handwriting. James Newcomer, in his article on the Hall papers in Iowa wrote of a similar experience with a manuscript copy of her sketch "Luke O'Brian":

> On the first short page are no fewer than 20 corrections that Mrs Hall made in the original text. A glance shows that 16 pages will yield at least 320 corrections to be noted and considered. Even more interesting is the discovery that in the printed text that I own there are, in the first 30 lines, 30 changes from the Iowa manuscript.[123]

By publicly acknowledging her debt to S. C. Hall, she boosted his self-confidence and perpetuated the idea that her success owed much to him.

Methodology

The research design of this dissertation has involved the combination of a number of methods drawn from a range of disciplines in order to engage with Hall's work from a variety of perspectives. These included a historical approach where I sought primary sources to confirm facts and set my parameters. The historical approach was combined with a literary critical perspective that drew on new critical approaches involving close readings of texts, post-colonial criticism, feminism and narratology. I employed art-historical methods in particular those pertaining to developments in word and image studies, bibliographical studies and print culture to support the visual content of the dissertation. In several instances I employed methods associated with the social sciences, drawing on the social learning theories of Albert Bandura in Chapter 4

and the case study method in Chapter 6 as a whole as well as on a smaller scale in Chapter 4.

Given the subject of the dissertation, I have devoted considerable attention to the historical method of research to ensure the reliability of my approach and to counteract where necessary, unreliable or biased sources of information. Initially I carried out a trawl of primary sources of Hall's letters and manuscripts located in libraries and archives in Ireland, the United Kingdom and America and examined letters and accounts by colleagues such as Charles Dickens and Maria Edgeworth. Apart from manuscripts and letters, her memories, as articulated in her semi-autobiographical writings and sketches create a consistent picture of her childhood in Ireland and her life in England. Her introductions to her books, her dedications, prefaces to later editions, asides and footnotes, all contribute to a greater understanding of her views and her priorities. Her husband left substantial records of their life together, chiefly through his Retrospect of a Long Life (1883), A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age (1877) and his correspondence. The reminiscences, letters, critical works, social, cultural and political histories, biographies and autobiographies of other authors and artists of the time touch on both of the Halls, some quite substantially as in William Henry Goss's The Life and Death of Llewellyn Jewitt (1899). I draw on extensive contemporary reviews of her work and sources ranging from sales catalogues to publisher's ledgers and advertisements in periodical and trade catalogues. Despite inevitable gaps, the primary sources verified facts, raised questions and allowed me to come to conclusions about Hall's motivation, to glean insights on the personal and professional dynamic that existed between the Halls, and to build up a picture of contemporary culture in the mid-nineteenth century. I have charted the critical assessment of her work and the resurgence of interest in her Irish works in the last thirty years through a judicious selection of secondary publications, commentaries and websites.

The number of publications by Hall that are now digitised from libraries around the world is increasing steadily and she is included in numerous digital databases including the recent Orlando database produced by Cambridge

University Press. A short multimedia digital presentation of Hall's Sketches of Irish Character is available online which consists of a voiceover narrating the preface to the third edition (1842), accompanied by slides of Irish scenes.[124]

What drew me to this topic initially was the connection between Hall's texts and the visual representations of her work. An important aspect of the dissertation, that draws on recent digital developments and sources, is the discussion of how publishers produced and used illustrations especially from the 1820s-40s, just prior to the rapid expansion and development in print reproduction techniques. In tandem with this dissertation therefore, I have begun to develop a website that will contribute to this analysis and will assess the significance of Hall's publications to the overall development of illustrated books in the nineteenth century. It is aimed to have the website live by the end of 2010, with illustrations from Hall's Sketches and Midsummer Eve in place as a substantial contribution to further scholarship in this area. The website is modelled on the dissertation and to this end, several screenshots have been included in Appendix L, and the list in Appendix B demonstrates the range of artists who will be included in the website. One of the aims of the website is to show how the artists that illustrated Hall's publications provide vital clues about perceptions of nationality, childhood and gender in the mid-nineteenth century. The extent to which they contributed to the formation of a stereotypical and overly-romanticised view of Ireland, or whether they engaged with the harsh conditions of the period, said much about the audience and market for art and indeed literature at this time.

Methodology: Technical Matters

As already stated, Anna Maria Fielding Hall is referred to as Hall throughout the dissertation. In her correspondence and her publications, Hall most frequently alternated between signing her name as "Anna Maria Hall" or "Mrs S. C. Hall." Quotations referring to her as "Mrs Hall" will not be altered and she is listed in the bibliography under Hall, S[amuel]. C[arter]. Mrs, with cross references from Hall, Anna Maria; Hall, Anna Maria Fielding; Fielding, Anna Maria; Hall, Mrs; and A. M. H. Her husband will always be referred to as S. C. Hall.

I have followed the sixth edition of the MLA style sheet as recommended by the English Department at St Patrick's College with several modifications. Titles are underlined rather than italicised therefore and page numbers are at the bottom of the page rather than the top right-hand corner, in line with the St. Patrick's College style rubric. The chapter number is included in the left-hand header for convenience. I also use endnotes throughout rather than footnotes or parenthetical documentation. When a source is cited for the first time, it will be given a full first-note reference and will be included in my bibliography, together with the relevant edition where potential ambiguities occur. In subsequent references, in the same or later chapters, the shortened form is used with author's surname, the first identifiable word in the title if necessary and the page or pages cited.

The dissertation includes numerous illustrations and to facilitate cross references in the text, each illustration is numbered with the chapter number and a running total. For example the seventh and fourteenth illustrations in Chapter 2 are listed as (Fig. 2.7) and (Fig. 2.14) and the caption situated below the image includes brief details: title, artist, publication and date. The list of illustrations will include any further available data such as the name of the engraver or whether it is a frontispiece in a publication. In all cases, the illustrations reproduce the original format – if it is a colour illustration, it is reproduced as such. The percentage of colour illustrations found in her books is low compared to the predominance of black and while illustrations as would be expected in book production for this period. Where spelling diverges from the norm, such as in the spelling of "Mucross" rather than "Muckross", I will include [sic] after the errant spelling on the first occasion, even if it is a direct quote but on the second occasion of such a word, I will not reproduce the [sic].

This dissertation focuses on Hall's illustrated books and her children's books. As she was a prolific author, some of these boundaries may not be wholly explicit as she often addressed a family or young adult audience. Apart from Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c. her travel literature and her plays will only be referred to if relevant to her other writings. Likewise, unless specific to my central concerns, I will not refer in any detail to Hall's philanthropic and

charitable works or the bulk of her temperance tales. Hall worked with many publishers during her career but I have chosen to study closely her sustained relationship with one publisher, W. & R. Chambers, to provide a microcosm of the publishing world. The interconnections between publishers and the availability of Hall's works on the American market is acknowledged but discussed briefly in the context of this dissertation.

Conclusion

Chapter 1 has served as an introduction to the dissertation. It has outlined four major areas that position Hall within a number of contexts from which to appraise her significance. The conceptual framework for the thesis has been defined and the remaining chapters will examine each of the key areas in turn: Chapter 3 on nationality, Chapter 4 on childhood, Chapter 5 on gender, and Chapter 6 a combination of all three areas through an assessment of Hall's output for Chambers' publishers. Chapter 2, which now follows, examines Hall's aesthetic perspective and her use of ekphrasis to represent and intensify the search for mimetic truth. The third area of the introduction gave a brief overview of Hall's formal qualities, which will be revealed in greater detail in the following chapters. The final section set out the methodology followed in order to complete the dissertation.

Notes

[1] Marian Keyes, "Remembering Childhood with the Renier Collection," NCRCL Papers 3 – Childhood Remembered: Proceedings from the 4th annual IBBY/MA Children's Literature Conference at Roehampton Institute, London, ed. K. Reynolds (London: NCRCL, 1998) 51-63. The Renier Collection of Historic and Contemporary Publications for Children consists of over 80,000 children's books collected by Anne and Fernand Renier and it was donated to the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1970. It was housed in Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, a branch museum of the Victoria & Albert Museum when I was working with the collection. The Renier Collection has relocated to the Archive of Art and Design in Blythe House near Olympia in London.

[2] Rolf Loeber, Magda Loeber, and Anna Mullin Burnham, A Guide to Irish Fiction 1650-1900 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006) xxiii-xxiv.

[3] Hazel Morris, Hand, Head and Heart: Samuel Carter Hall and The Art Journal (Norwich: Michael Russell, 2002) 15. The Art-Union Monthly Journal of the Arts was edited by S. C. Hall from 1839 until he retired in 1880. The name was changed to The Art Journal in 1849 when Hall had to sell his share to George Virtue due to financial difficulties. Virtue became its proprietor and publisher from 1849 and Hall remained as its editor. The journal will be referred to in the dissertation as The Art-Union from 1839-1848 and from 1849 onwards as The Art Journal. Apart from Morris's work, an unpublished thesis entitled "'Good Impressions of Good Things:' The 'Art Journal' Print and the Craft of Connecting in mid-Victorian England, 1850-1880" was completed by Katherine Wheldon Haskins in The University of Chicago in 2001. I requested the thesis but the University was unable to lend on this occasion.

[4] The engraving itself is signed "Danl Maclise R.A. del 1833" but the caption to the frontispiece engraving is dated 1830 which was probably an error on the part of the engraver.

[5] Further portraits and photographs of Hall are included in Appendix A

[6] The following sources were consulted in the preparation of biographical details for the Halls: "Mrs S. C. Hall" The Dublin University Magazine, 16: 92

Jan. (1840) Web 4 Apr 2008; Isabella Fyvie Mayo, "A Recollection of Two Old Friends" The Leisure Hour May (1889): [303]-307; William Bates, The Maclise Portrait Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters with Memoirs (London: Chatto & Windus, 1898) 366-72; Maureen Keane, Mrs S. C. Hall: A Literary Biography. Irish Literary Studies: 50 (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1997) 1-34; Loeber, Guide 534-35; Peter Mandler, "Hall, Anna Maria (1800-1881)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Web 8 Oct 2009; Peter Mandler, "Hall, Samuel Carter (1800-1889)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Web 8 Oct 2009; Frances Clarke and Sinéad Sturgeon, "Hall, Anna Maria (1800-1881)," Dictionary of Irish Biography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 363-365.

[7] Her earliest writings in The Amulet were identified as by A. M. H. but the most usual authorial reference in her later writings was "Mrs S. C. Hall." Her first three articles for The Art-Union in 1839 were by "A. M. Hall," the article in January 1840 was by "Anna Maria Hall" and from then on, they were usually, but not always, noted as by "Mrs S. C. Hall."

[8] A bibliography of Hall's works cited in this dissertation, including her joint publications is included in the main bibliography. The website includes a working bibliography of her children's books.

[9] Both the Oxford DNB and the Loebers state erroneously that she was editor of St. James's Magazine from 1861-68. Mary Braddon (1837-1915) succeeded Hall as editor of the St. James's Magazine in May 1862.

[10] T. Purnell, "Mr S. C. Hall," The Athenaeum 23 Mar. 1889: 375-6.

[11] Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back Through Seventy Years vol. 1(London: Kegan Paul, 1893) 305.

[12] The Halls moved house on numerous occasions during their married life. Recorded addresses to date included: 27 Ashley Place, Victoria, London (1824-?); Avenue Villa, Holland Street, Kensington; "The Rosery," Old Brompton, Kensington (1839-50?); Firfield, Addlestone, Surrey (1851-60); The Boltons, South Kensington (1860-?); Devon Lodge, East Molesey, Surrey

(1880-81) (Anna Maria died here 30 Jan 1881); 24 Stanford Road, Kensington (S. C. Hall died here 16 Mar 1889).

[13] S. C. Hall, letter to John Windele, [c. 1840], 4/B/1/79. Letterhead reproduced courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

[14] Gerald Parsons, AA313 Religion in Victorian Britain ([Milton Keynes]: Open University, 1996) 3-6. The main theological groups within the Church of England in the Victorian era were: Evangelicals/Low Church; Tractarians and Anglo-Catholics/High Church; Liberals/Broad Church. Evangelicals emphasised the Protestant nature of the Church of England, stressing the authority of scripture, the doctrine of atonement, and the Protestant implications of the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles. Between 1833 and 1855 the groups became more distinct and incompatible.

[15] She was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery, London.

[16] Some commentators suggested that this might have referred to Fanny Hood (1830-79), Thomas Hood's daughter, who later married a clergyman, Rev. Mr Broderip. The Halls were very attached to Fanny Hood and Hall frequently corresponded with her but Hall describes the circumstances of their adopted daughter in a letter dated 26th February 1843 (Chambers Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter 5 dated 26 Feb. 1843.) "We have adopted a little orphan girl and are trying to lay by something for her – she is very very dear to us – and deservedly so – her father was colonial secretary at Sierra Leone – and her father and mother died there within six weeks of each other, leaving five infant orphans – little Fannie fell overboard on her return home and was hooked out of the sea by a black man! – she is not quite five yet – and has been some time with us – the children have all been adopted by friends or relatives. Morris (75) said "Fanny, their adopted daughter, later married Sandford Rochat, S. C. Hall's nephew." According to Mayo ("Two Old Friends" 307), she outlived Hall and cared for S. C. Hall during the last years of his life in the 1880s. The artist Frederick William Fairholt (1814-66) always remembered "dear little Fanny" whom he regarded as a sister, in his letters to the Halls.

Nathaniel Hawthorne described her as around seventeen with auburn hair when he met the Halls in 1856.

[17] This frequent source will be abbreviated to Retrospect throughout.

[18] William Henry Goss, The Life and Death of Llewellyn Jewitt with Fragmentary Memoirs of some of his Famous Literary and Artistic Friends especially of Samuel Carter Hall (London: Henry Gray, 1889) 368.

[19] Although she was listed as editor also for 1838, I have not included it as the format was different from other years and most of the contributors were anonymous. Hall may have been ill (her daughter Maria Louisa was probably born in early 1836 and she had suffered a number of miscarriages in recent years) or she may have been too busy working on other publications to give it the same attention as previous years. She contributed none of her own work to that annual which was unusual compared to previous annuals where she always included at least one of her own stories.

[20] Other notables within her circle with fewer entries included Sarah Ellis (1812-72), Felicia Hemans (1793-1835), James Hogg, Richard Howitt (1799-1869), Amelia Opie (1769-1853) and three of the Strickland sisters: Agnes (1796-1874); Susan (1803-85); and Catherine (1802-67). See Appendix K for full details.

[21] S. C. Hall, A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age, from Personal Acquaintance, 3rd edition, (London: Virtue, [n. d.]) viii.

[22] Goss 192.

[23] Loeber, Guide 534-535.

[24] Peter Finlay, "The Irish as 'Other.' Representations of Urban and Rural Poverty in Early Victorian Travel Writing on Ireland," diss., Queen's University, 2005, Chapter 6. Ireland was reviewed in: The Athenaeum 23 Mar. 1889: 375-76, 6 Apr. 1889: 440; The Atlas 20 Mar. 1841: 191; The Citizen Mar. 1841: 190-94; The Dublin Review May 1843: 445; The Dublin University Magazine Dec. 1840: 730-31; Fraser's Magazine Jan. 1841: 90-94; The Literary Gazette 14 Nov. 1840: 729; The Nation 18 Nov. 1846:106; Sunday Times 1,055, 8 Jan. 1843.

[25] Anna Maria Hall, letter to Francis Bennock, [c. 1857], MsL H 174be, Iowa University Library.

[26] Keane 211-214.

[27] Robert Lee Wolff, introduction, Sketches of Irish Character, by Anna Maria Hall, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1979) v.

[28] David J. O'Donoghue, The Life of William Carleton: Being His Autobiography and Letters &c. (London: Downey and Co., 1896) 44: 2, 182.

[29] Barry Sloan, "Mrs Hall's Ireland," Éire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies 19:3 (1984) 30.

[30] I would add that this legacy remains true today with Carleton a regular subject of scholarship in Ireland, replete with an annual Summer School since 1992. The School takes place in Clogher, Co. Tyrone.

[31] Sloan "Mrs Hall's Ireland" 22.

[32] Sloan "Mrs Hall's Ireland" 19.

[33] Sloan "Mrs Hall's Ireland" 30.

[34] Barry Sloan, The Pioneers of Anglo-Irish Fiction 1800-1850, Irish Literary Studies: 21 (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1986) 137-173. Despite his awareness that Carleton's work could be uneven, he shows scant care in his selection of Hall's work for comparative purposes. In his chapter entitled "Sketches of Irish Character and Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry [1830-1833]," he dismissed Hall in seven pages and assigned the remaining twenty-nine pages to Carleton. Instead of stories such as Hall's classic "The Bannow Postman" or "Father Mike," he concentrated on the more didactic "We'll See About It," or "Kelly the Piper" where Hall was at her most critical regarding the lazy Irish peasant.

[35] James Newcomer, "Mr. and Mrs. S.C. Hall: Their Papers at Iowa," Books at Iowa 43, (1985) 15-23.

[36] James Newcomer, Maria Edgeworth the Novelist (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1967) and Maria Edgeworth (Bucknell: Bucknell University Press, 1971) and Lady Morgan the Novelist (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1985).

[37] James Newcomer, "Mrs Samuel Carter Hall and The Whiteboy," Études Irlandaises 8:12 (1983) 113-119.

[38] The collection consisted of 110 letters relating to Hall and 145 letters to or from S. C. Hall. Newcomer was informed by the Head of Special Collections, Frank Paluka that the collection was built up piecemeal over the years as the Halls were on the periphery of the Leigh Hunt circle. The University of Iowa is a major repository of Leigh Hunt material.

[39] Her Sketches of Irish Character and their Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c. will be abbreviated to Sketches and Ireland in most instances unless there is any ambiguity in the context.

[40] William Carleton, Valentine M'Clutchy: The Irish Agent, or the Chronicles of Castle Cumber (Dublin: Duffy, 1845); Charles Lever, St. Patrick's Eve (London: Chapman & Hall, 1845) and The O'Donoghue: A Tale of Ireland Fifty Years Ago (Dublin: Curry, 1845.)

[41] Angela, Bourke, ed., The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing: Irish Women's Writing and Traditions, vol. 5 (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002) 516-17, 528-9, 836 and 846-8.

[42] Heather Ingman, A History of the Irish Short Story (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 18.

[43] Ingman 34.

[44] Ingman 28.

[45] Diarmaid Ó Muirithe, "Words We Use," The Irish Times 21 Jan. 2008.

[46] Diarmaid Ó Muirithe, A Seat Behind the Coachman: Travellers in Ireland 1800-1900 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972) 13.

[47] William Thackeray (1811-63) wrote The Irish Sketch Book (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843).

[48] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983) 5-7.

[49] Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," (1994) Web 6 July 2010; Caroline Field Levander, Cradle of Liberty (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2006) 3-5. Nussbaum and Levander argued that notions of an

essential child identity have codified an eighteenth-century concept which blended child development and democratic progress in nations. The child represents the possibility of autonomy yet the reality of dependency; freedom and equality on the one side yet the dangers of exploitation and subjugation as dependent beings on the other side.

[50] Matthew Arnold, On the Study of Celtic Literature (London: Smith, Elder, 1867) 100-111.

[51] Ernest Renan, The Poetry of the Celtic Races Great Literature Online. 1997-2010. Part II. 14-15.

[52] Mary Shine Thompson, "Give Tongue its Freedom: Children as Citizens of Irish Civic Society." Perspectives on Equality. Eds. Marian Lyons, and Fionnuala Waldron (Dublin: Liffey Press, 2004) 195-199.

[53] Bradshaw's Manchester Journal May (1841) 23.

[54] Mary Shine Thompson, introduction, Divided Worlds: Studies in Children's Literature, eds., Mary Shine Thompson and Valerie Coghlan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007) 11.

[55] Harry Hendrick, "Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood: An Interpretative Survey, 1800 to the Present," Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood, eds. Allison James and Alan Prout (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 1997) 34-62.

[56] Mrs S. C. Hall, Pilgrimages to English Shrines (New York: S. Appleton, 1854) 50.

[57] Allison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout, eds., Theorizing Childhood (Cambridge: Polity, 1998) 10.

[58] Mitzi Myers, "Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames, and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Books," Children's Literature, 14 (1986) 31-59.

[59] Myers, "Impeccable Governesses" 54.

[60] Mary Hilton, Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain 1750-1850 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) 5-6.

[61] Jacqueline Rose, The Case of Peter Pan or The Impossibility of Children's Fiction (1984; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) 137.

[62] Rose 12.

[63] Mary Poovey, The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) x. The phrase "The Angel in the House" came from the title of a poem by Coventry Patmore (1823-96) who dedicated it to his wife in 1854. Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) wrote of the inhibitive effect of the lingering effects of the Angel in the House, the phantom, who "so tormented me that I killed her." Woolf's description of her confirmed her endurance as a paradigm: "She was intensely sympathetic. She was universally charming. She was utterly unselfish. She excelled in the difficult arts of family life. She sacrificed herself daily." Virginia Woolf, "'Professions for Women:' The Death of the Moth," Feminist Literary Theory, ed. Mary Eagleton (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 78.

[64] Poovey x.

[65] Poovey 8-9.

[66] Lynda Nead, Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) [12]-17.

[67] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Daughters of England: Their Position in Society, Character, and Responsibilities (London: n. p. 1845) 23-24.

[68] Midsummer Eve 270.

[69] J. A. Cuddon, ed. The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory (London: Penguin, 1999) 252; Ruth Webb, Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) 40-41; Ruth Webb, "Ekphrasis" (Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online) Web. 25 May 2010.

[70] Shadi Bartsch and Jaś Eisner, eds. Ekphrasis spec. issue of Classical Philology 102 (2007): i-138. The issue included papers held at two conferences on the subject, one at Oxford in 2002 organised by Helen Moore and Jaś Elsner and the other at the University of Chicago in 2004 organised by Shadi Bartsch and Jaś Elsner.

[71] Bartsch and Elsner, "Introduction: Eight Ways of Looking at an Ekphrasis," Classical Philology 102 (2007): i.

[72] Plato, The Republic, trans. Desmond Lee (London: Penguin, 2007). Book X.

[73] This rhetorical version of ekphrasis was recorded in the work of Dionysios of Halikarnassos c. 60 B. C.

[74] Although translated literally as "poetry," Horace intended the term in the broad sense, that is, all imaginative writing.

[75] Jean Hagstrum, The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1958) 18.

[76] W. J. Thomas Mitchell, Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 156-158.

[77] W. J. T. Mitchell, Picture Theory 155.

[78] James Heffernan, The Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 6.

[79] John Ruskin, Modern Painters 9 vols. (1843-60); Stones of Venice 3 vols. (1851-53): Walter Pater, Studies in the History of the Renaissance (1873).

[80] John Dixon Hunt, S. A. Varga, and Theo D'haen, eds., First International Conference on Word & Image, spec. issue of Word & Image 4.1 (1988): i-453. Word & Image was one of the coordinating bodies for the conference.

[81] Murray Krieger, Ekphrasis: The Illusion of the Natural Sign (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); W. J. T. Mitchell "Ekphrasis and the Other" Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994) 151-181.

[82] John Hollander, "The Poetics of Ekphrasis," Word and Image 4:1 (1988): 209-19.

[83] Gunter Gebauer, and Christoph Wulf, Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 5.

[84] Gebauer, Mimesis 1-8.

[85] "Mimesis," The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, (New York: Macmillan, 1967) 335; Gebauer, Mimesis; Frederick Burwick, Mimesis and its Romantic Reflections,(Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Michelle Puetz, "Mimesis" (University of Chicago: Theories of Media: Keywords Glossary). Web. 30 Mar. 2010.

[86] Puetz, Web. 30 Mar. 2010.

[87] Kathryn Hume, Fantasy and Mimesis: Responses to Reality in Western Literature (London: Methuen, 1984) 20.

[88] Burwick, Mimesis 44.

[89] Honoré de Balzac, Traité de la Vie Élégante (Paris: Gallimard, 1976) 251-254; Gebauer, Mimesis 222.

[90] Stephen L. Gardner, Myths of Freedom: Equality, Modern Thought, and Philosophical Radicalism (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998) 98.

[91] Peter Brooks, Realist Vision (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) 125.

[92] Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003). The first Princeton edition was published in 1953 and this fiftieth anniversary edition was accompanied by an introduction by Edward Said. The first edition of Mimesis was published in Berne, Switzerland by A. Francke Ltd. in 1946.

[93] Auerbach, Mimesis xxxii. Said acknowledged that from a contemporary viewpoint, Auerbach's uncritical acceptance of such "hotly contested terms" such as "Western," "reality," and "representation" seem impossibly naïve fifty years later.

[94] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Illuminations ed. Hannah Arendt (London: Fontana Press,1992) 211-235.

[95] Robert Vernon (1774/5-1849) was a major art collector and he granted S. C. Hall permission to publish engravings of his collection (he presented his collection to the new National Gallery of England) in The Art-Union. From1849-54, they were published in 57 parts with accompanying text, each part costing five shillings. They were published later in 1854 by Virtue in three volumes as The Vernon Gallery of British Art. Engravings from the Great Exhibition of 1851 appeared in The Art Journal throughout 1851. S. C. Hall did not produce the official catalogue to the exhibition but a shorter alternative, The Art Journal: The Illustrated Catalogue, The Industry of All Nations. In the same year as the Great Exhibition, S. C. Hall was granted permission to engrave and publish pictures from the Royal Collection. These engravings appeared in The Art Journal from 1856-1861 and were eventually published in four volumes.

[96] Gebauer, Mimesis 269.

[97] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994) 86.

[98] Bhabha, "Of Mimicry" 88.

[99] Mrs S. C. Hall "Preface," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830) iv.

[100] Sarah K. Donovan, "Luce Irigaray (1932-Present)" Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy Web. 14 Mar. 2010.

[101] Luce Irigaray, "This Sex Which Is Not One," This Sex Which Is Not One, trans. Catherine Porter (New York: Cornell, 1985) 22-33.

[102] Gérard Genette, Narrative Discourse Revisited (Ithaca: Cornell, 1980) 244-45.

[103] Mrs S. C. Hall, "A Great Trial," St. James's Magazine Vol. 2 (1861) 251. There is the added authenticity that she has several of her dogs with her in the room where she sits with the children.

[104] Sketches (1844) [v].

[105] This device dates back to Homer's Odysseus where the hero essentially loses himself to find himself. Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno, Dialectic of Enlightenment, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continujm, 1993) 47-48. There is a long tradition to its use, most notably Fanny Burney (1752-1840) who wrote a diary from the age of fifteen, addressed to her alter-ego "Nobody." It was also used later in the nineteenth century by George Grossmith in his Diary of a Nobody. Other significant references are included in Catherine Gallagher's Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace 1670-1820 (Berkeley: University of California Press,1994). A chapter on "The Narrator as Nobody" is included in Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth's Realism and Consensus in the English Novel: Time, Space and Narrative (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998) 65-92.

[106] A Woman's Story (1857) vol. 1 7.

[107] Ingman 30.

[108] Sloan, Anglo-Irish Fiction 140.

[109] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 424.

[110] Rev. of Sketches of Irish Character, by Mrs. S. C. Hall, The Edinburgh Literary Journal 30 May 1829: 405-06.

[111] Mrs S. C. Hall, introduction, Sketches of Irish Character (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1831).

[112] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Mountain Daisy: A Village Sketch," The Amulet (1829) 85.

[113] Keane 70-73; Ingman 35-37

[114] The Spirit and Manners of the Age (1829) 35.

[115] Sketches (1844) 270.

[116] Keane 70.

[117] Brian Earls, "Oral Culture and Popular Autonomy: William Carleton and Ireland's Victorian Improvers," Dublin Review of Books 1: Spring (2007) Web 4 July 2010.

[118] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Irish Jerry," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1836) 175.

[119] "Irish Jerry" 185.

[120] Scott's influence on Hall and the parallels between his cultivation of the regional novel and her own in the Irish context is not explored in this dissertation. As I had to be selective, I chose to focus less on her historical novels and more on her English domestic novels. These have received scant critical commentary to date and they provided many examples in which to explore my key concepts.

[121] Claire Connolly, "Irish Romanticism: 1800-1829." The Cambridge History of Irish Literature, eds. Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary. Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 407-448.

[122] Mayo, "Two Old Friends" 304.

[123] Newcomer, Books at Iowa 43 (1985) 15-23.

[124] http://breeze.quinnipiac.edu/p98512673/ Only a few slides directly relate either to Wexford locations or Hall's sketches. Two images from her text are included in the slide show, William Evans's "The Young Turf-Cutter" (Fig. 3.23), and "The Examination," a court case scene by J. C. Timbrell.

Chapter 2

Ekphrasis and Mimesis: Hall and the Search for "Truth" through Art

Introduction

> How have I prayed to be able to copy a harebell; I could imitate its shape and colour but no art of mine could transfix the delicacy of the tint, the transparent lightness of the bell through which you can almost see the atmosphere. It seemed an ethereal flower, dropped by an angel's hand. It was my great impossibility; I could not copy it.[1]

Mildred Kennett's desire to capture the likeness of the harebell with her consummate skill at coloured embroidery[2] echoed the nineteenth-century preoccupation with reality and the artist's ongoing relationship with nature.[3] As noted in the work of Balzac and Zola in Chapter 1, nature was made to stand for a world to be grasped empirically, to be wondered at and scientifically studied. What was at stake however was something more than the mere imitation or mirroring of nature. The divine creativity inherent in nature was reflected in the artist's own creative response to nature. The task for the artist therefore was to intensify the observed reality and to transmit it to others.[4] This romantic sensibility was at the core of Hall's writings, in which her mimetic re-presentations of reality were heightened by her use of ekphrastic discourse. Her desire to intensify the experience for and to share the moral truth of fine art with as wide an audience as possible were an important part of her mission as a writer.

Visual art played an integral role in Hall's life. She wrote extensively about it, both in her factual and fictional writings. Whether it was biographical information and anecdotes about artists, enthusiastic essays on particular works of art, or artists playing leading roles in her novels and sketches, it was significant. Art was not just a recurrent theme or subject matter however. Hall was an ekphrastic writer who strove to enable her audience to "see" what she described through the power of her words. She could empathise with the aesthetic gaze of the visual artist, seeing a landscape or a family group in terms of its picturesque qualities.

> ...a tall woman, enveloped in a long blue cloak, entered; ... want and misery had obliterated its beauty, and given an almost maniac expression to eyes both dark and deep; the hair was partly confined by a checked kerchief; and the outline of the figure would have been worthy the pencil of Salvator.[5]

The popularity of ekphrastic writing such as this, whether it named actual artists or not, was widespread in the romantic era and certain artists were singled out by Hall and other writers as their work lent itself to the mood of the period.[6]

This chapter will explore the centrality of art and illustration in Hall's work and will investigate the complexity of the verbal/visual relationship as it evolved throughout her writing career. To achieve this, I employ W. J. T. Mitchell's three phases or moments of realisation to clarify the discussion of ekphrasis in relation to Hall:[7] ekphrastic indifference; ekphrastic hope; and ekphrastic fear. The first phase is "ekphrastic indifference," where no matter the amount of description, the verbal cannot make the object present in the way that the visual can. Mitchell used the example of the "Bob and Ray" radio comedy show[8] in which Bob was showing Ray his holiday photos and describing them to listeners, wishing that they could see the photos also. Mitchell asserted: "Words can 'cite,' but never 'sight' their objects," hence the indifference and sense of futility with the ekphrastic exercise.[9]

However, with the second phase, "ekphrastic hope," dawns the realisation that words can indeed bring objects into the mind's eye. With a good writer, language has the power to make us "see" through its ability to stimulate the imagination or conjure up metaphors. Mitchell argued that the image/text division is overcome and "a verbal icon or imagetext" arises in its place. The final phase, Mitchell calls "ekphrastic fear." This occurs when the difference between the verbal and the visual collapses. Actually seeing the object, in effect, spoils the game. The exercise in which Bob describes the photos to Ray would turn out to be pointless if the photos became visible to the radio listeners. This is a central point which will frame a discussion of Hall's illustrated works in this chapter. The image implied in her writing cannot come

into view and if it does, the verbal takes on iconic characteristics and it is no longer a question of an ekphrastic encounter according to critics such as Mitchell and Murray Krieger.[10] However, I will demonstrate that the concept of ekphrasis reveals and enlightens important aspects of Hall's work.

In order to set the context for the focus on art and ekphrasis, I will first explore the significance of the Halls as collectors of art and their association with leading artists in their circle. Hall and her husband were surrounded by art in their home and they were active participants in discussions about art and exhibitions in the art world. Secondly, the aesthetics of the early Victorian period and the importance of Germanic influences will be assessed, so as to identify dominant reasons why she became an ekphrastic writer and her zeal to reveal moral truths through art.

The final and most substantial section of this chapter highlights four areas of Hall's writing in terms of its relationship to illustration: firstly, publications that were never illustrated and those that exemplified ekphrastic hope in its purist form without visual accompaniment; secondly, publications where the text was written as an accompaniment to a given print or illustration, an obverse form of ekphrasis, where the visual art object was given a voice ; thirdly, the impact of later illustrated editions on texts that were previously not illustrated; and finally, publications that were illustrated simultaneously with the creation of the text. The latter two sections will demonstrate how the notion of ekphrastic fear can be employed to assess the success or failure of Hall's illustrated works, either those that were illustrated in later editions or simultaneously with her text.[11] Do the illustrations add to the richness of her writings? Do they overwhelm it or do they diminish her work and ultimately disappoint the reader? Hall was writing at a time of great change in methods and approaches to book illustration just prior to the Golden Age of British book illustration which spanned from 1860-80.[12] The variety of her illustrated publications and her versatility and flexibility as a writer makes her particularly representative of this period and thus a rewarding study.

The Halls as Art Collectors and their Association with Artists

In Mary Howitt's autobiography published in 1889, her entry for 20 August 1853 noted a social event where a number of friends were invited to the Halls' home in Firfield, Surrey (Fig. 2.1). She described it as that "wonderful abode... its urns, vases, busts, pictures, its Sèvres, Dresden, and Wedgwood, and so forth."[13] Nathaniel Hawthorne visited the Halls on several occasions and remarked likewise of their house in Firfield that:

> Their place is an exceedingly pretty one, and arranged in very good taste. The house is not large, but is filled in every room, with fine engravings, statuettes, ingenious prettynesses, or beautifulnesses, in the way of flower stands, cabinets, and things that seem to have flowered naturally out of the characters of the occupants.[14]

Fig. 2.1 "Firfield, Addlestone." Letterhead used by the Halls [c. 1850s].[15]

While Hawthorne's description may give the impression that the Halls' interior decors personified the somewhat superficial vogue for Victorian clutter, a glance through the sale catalogue of the contents of their house after S. C. Hall's death in 1889, revealed that their taste was neither lightweight nor whimsical. As Hawthorne admitted, it was "arranged in very good taste." The Halls were discerning collectors. S. C. Hall was an expert on ceramics and

their connections with the contemporary art world through The Art-Union ensured that they were at the cutting edge of artistic trends. The sale catalogue also gives a representative idea of what the couple held dearest, including gifts of drawings and sketches from their friends. Appendix D reproduces the list of watercolour drawings, pictures and engravings listed in this catalogue which in itself reveals a dramatic cross-section of Victorian art of the period. It lists work by some of the Irish artists they held in high esteem, Daniel Maclise, William Mulready (1786-1863), James Arthur O'Connor (1792-1841) and important statuettes by the Cork born sculptor John Henry Foley (1818-74), an old friend of S. C. Hall's. In addition, there were many references to works created for Hall's publications; Lot 86 by E. M. Ward (Edward Matthew Ward 1816-79) was a "Book Illustration of the Fair Family. Pencil – a present from the artist." Ward had one illustration in The Prince of the Fair Family which was published in 1867, and his wife Henrietta (1832-1924) had two illustrations in the same publication. Lots 94 and 95 were by Robert Huskisson (c.1820-61) and Daniel Maclise, both of them illustrations for Midsummer Eve published in 1848.

One of S. C. Hall's most enduring legacies was the role he played in exposing the market in forged old masters. The Art-Union effectively aided in the promotion of art by contemporary British artists who had hitherto nobody to champion their cause. In the Report for 1877 of the Art Union of London, S. C. Hall was praised for devoting:

> so much energy, judgment and zeal to the improvement of the Arts of this country ... succeeded in driving from the market those spurious imitations of old masters which alone found purchasers amongst our Art collectors thirty years ago; in place of which fabulous prices are now paid for the works of British artists, both of present and past times.[16]

In the pages of The Art-Union, debate, criticism, illustration, reports of exhibitions and sales all contributed to the creation of a lively and dynamic art scene.

The Halls received many art works as gifts from friends and those seeking patronage in The Art-Union but S. C. Hall also commissioned works on a regular basis. The Halls were frequently out of pocket, usually arising from one of S. C. Hall's over-ambitious engraving ventures, and paintings had to be sold on a regular basis. In one of her letters to Francis Bennock, Hall described one of the many financial crises they endured, this time due to the high cost of reproducing the Queen's pictures. The letter dated 1 December 1854, outlined how she has been trying to persuade her husband

> to sell his pictures – I mean our collection – Ward and Frith and Goodall would I am sure rather he used their presents to free himself than have him die of a crushed heart – and leave them to be sold hereafter – however painful and humiliating such a sale would be.[17]

Evidence that they did indeed sell many of their cherished paintings is to be found in a Foster and Son sale catalogue dated Monday 23 April 1855 entitled A Catalogue of the Collection of English Pictures and Watercolour Drawings, the property of S. C. Hall, Esq. FSA. Amongst the paintings sold was Lot 133, William Powell Frith's (1819-1909) Mariana in the Moated Grange which was annotated with the price fetched, a remarkable £73.10s. The eminent painter had written a letter to Hall dated 10 April 1848, thanking her, on behalf of his wife for her generous gift of "the beautiful book" (Midsummer Eve)[18] and expressing his delight that the Halls were pleased with Mariana: "I think it one of the prettiest of the series that I painted, but an artist you know is no judge of his own works. I only wish it was better."[19] Lots 113, 123, 127 and 135 were notable paintings by Robert Huskisson, an artist that S. C. Hall had championed and supported through commissions, for amongst others, his wife's Midsummer Eve. Annotated prices show that the Halls made good money with this sale with the total for these four Huskisson's paintings alone realising £134.7s.6d.[20] This sale must have provided much needed funds for them at a difficult period but must have caused much pain to relinquish works that were of such personal significance to them.

Of special interest is the fact that the Halls must have bought back some of the works listed in this sale at a later date as Lot 23, Daniel Maclise's The Dream of the Fairies, a pencil drawing engraved in Midsummer Eve which was sold for £8.8s in 1855 is most likely one and the same as Lot 95 in the Sale in 1889 which is described as "The Woodcutter's Dream. One of the illustrations in the Midsummer Eve by Mrs Hall." Maclise only provided one plate for this book (Fig. 2.2) but it was evidently of great significance to the Halls.

Fig. 2.2 "The Vision of the Woodcutter" by D. Maclise. Midsummer Eve (1848).

How extensive Hall's influence was on her illustrators can be difficult to determine. She certainly socialised with a large number of artists who formed the subject of many articles for The Art-Union and they would have known her as a convivial hostess and friend.[21] Her husband may have been instrumental in brokering many of the decisions as to who would illustrate her work but it must be assumed that they would discuss potential artists in detail amongst themselves. She frequently referred to her artists, however, and was immensely grateful for their work. For example, in the 1870 edition of Midsummer Eve published in London by John Camden Hotten, her preface acknowledged them:

> It was largely indebted to the aid of many accomplished artists, some of whom (my valued friend Sir Joseph Noel Paton especially) were then but commencing a career in which they have since obtained great and honourable renown.[22]

As a woman writer there were obvious limitations to the kind of working relationships she could have with artists. For example, Hablot Knight Browne

(1815-82) travelled extensively with Charles Dickens in the early years to Newgate, Greenwich and the Midlands. With such close contact it was easy to discuss proposed illustrations and come to agreement, as Dickens was notoriously exact about how his text was interpreted.[23] One with whom she enjoyed a close working relationship was the artist and antiquarian Frederick William Fairholt who was a regular visitor and who accompanied the Halls on many of their travels, especially in Ireland. "He was our constant companion during our visits to at least a hundred 'show places,' enlightening us with his knowledge and largely aiding us by his antiquarian notes."[24] He provided thirty-four illustrations for the third volume of Ireland. and supplied the illustrations for her Pilgrimages to English Shrines. This was serialised over four years in The Art-Union from January 1848 -October 1852 and the first edition was published by Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co. in 1850 with a second edition appearing in 1853. In an undated letter to S. C. Hall, Fairholt was anxious to talk over his art work for The Art Journal and apologised for not making a recent appointment due to ill health:

> Time is going rapidly now with me and I want to see you soon – for the boat starts from Southampton on Tuesday week, and before then we ought to meet either at the office, at your house, or here – just as you please. Next Saturday is the only engaged one I have. I want to show what I have done in advance for the Journal, and to talk over our own matters. So I await your arrangements. I hope Mrs Hall and Fannie keep well. I feel now anxious to be off ere the weather changes.[25]

Fairholt was a sub-editor of The Art Journal and the letter gave the impression that any discussion on his work would be with S. C. Hall rather than his wife. In a later collaboration by the Halls, The Book of the Thames, (published, as was her Pilgrimages, by Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co. in 1859), they acknowledged in the introduction the debt owed to their artists, among them F. W. Fairholt for his antiquarian expertise and also W. S. Coleman (1829-1904):

> To Mr W. S. Coleman – whose drawings and sketches made in

> our company, have supplied us with a large proportion of the engravings – we owe much, not alone because of his great ability as an artist, but for the zeal and cordiality with which, upon all occasions, he laboured to give value to our undertaking, in the important part of it that was mainly under his control.

The Halls actively sought out artists whom they were particularly anxious to work with. One such artist was Belfast-born Andrew Nicholl (1804-86). Nicholl was one of the team of artists who worked closely with the Halls on Ireland contributing 114 drawings which were subsequently wood-engraved for the three-volume work.[26] His contribution to the publication was the most extensive. As well as drawings, he evidently carried out research for the Halls, sketching the recently discovered caves at Mitchelstown, Co. Tipperary in 1834 and carrying out extensive note-taking and drawings of Glendalough on their behalf.

> Mr. Nicholl, who searched the ruins with exceeding care and perseverance, informs us that there is scarcely a stone in the vicinity that did not afford some subject for his pencil, although they were nearly all broken, and scattered without the smallest regard to their preservation.[27]

In a letter dated 2 Dec. 1840, S. C. Hall showed how much he valued the work that Nicholl did for this publication in the following excerpt:

> A great many sketches of objects in Wexford county have been sent to me – but I will not use any of them until I receive yours – but I shall be glad to get them soon – Do as many as you please of this county. I have ordered parts 1 and 2 to be sent to Belfast for you; I most sincerely hope you and Mrs Nicholl are well ...[28]

Because the Halls corresponded with artists, actively socialised with them and lived amongst them, they inevitably cultivated and maintained close networks within the artistic community. Appendix B outlines the main artists who worked on Hall's illustrated books and those collaborative works, with her husband, that fall within the compass of this thesis. The fact that many of the artists continued to work on various projects for the Halls, thereby gaining

financially and enhancing their reputations through promotion in The Art Journal, suggested high levels of mutual respect.

A review of the art that the Halls purchased, taken with their close relationship with artists and art critics, indicates that their taste was eclectic and wide-ranging and it privileged contemporary British and Irish art. They were anxious to support the work of friends and colleagues and to retain art that was closely connected to their own publishing ventures. Whether or not the Halls differed in their artistic preferences is difficult to determine conclusively but this is a topic that is explored throughout the dissertation.

The next section of this chapter situates Hall within the wider framework of her era, examining the aesthetic backdrop that existed during the period 1830-70 and the degree to which she was aware of, and indeed contributed to, its development. This provides a context for the discussion that follows this section which analyses her publications and their relationship to illustration.

The Aesthetics of the 1830s and the Early Victorian Period

Visual description or ekphrasis played a vital role in literature. The emphasis on the veracity of what lay before the author or artist and the truthful representation of what was seen, were key factors in many of the artistic movements of the nineteenth century. The poet and critic, Matthew Arnold, spoke of the necessity "to see the object as in itself it really is"[29] and artists from a number of perspectives sought to really "see" reality for what it was, often with radically different results. The English landscape artist John Constable (1776-1837) urged student artists to forget about their imagination and to start by looking at nature.[30] Hall would agree, but only up to a point, as is evident in the following quote:

> It is an admirable thing to do justice to nature, to copy faithfully the immortalities amid which we live; but it is still more glorious to embody the workings of the mind, to create, to lead, as it were, the inventive faculties of our fellow creatures into a higher world.[31]

Hall, as always, had the spiritual welfare of her audience in mind as she knew that there was a thirst for meaning and truth beyond earthly existence.

Victorian audiences paid great attention to illustration, whether in novels or newspapers. Unlike in later years when illustration was often a decorative afterthought, the Victorians examined art for significance – they read paintings like books, and illustrated books became very popular from mid-century onwards. Martin Meisel in Realizations, described illustration as follows:

> It carried a sense of enrichment and embellishment beyond mere specification; it implied the extension of one medium or mode of discourse by another, rather than materialization with a minimum of imaginative intervention... the pictorial illustration that we have in mind nowadays when we speak of a book with illustrations was not taken for granted before the 1820s.[32]

He referred to illustrated scenes that implied the stories that preceded and followed them and the rich symbolic potential of their moment of 'realization'. Illustrations amplified and intensified the effects of the text for the reader bringing about a symbiotic relationship between pictorialism and narrative.

To a considerable degree, the aesthetic mores of the period were reflected in Hall's work. Throughout her writings there are recurrent interwoven themes and concerns: the morality of art, the intense emotional response to art and the ever-present desire to popularise art.

> I hope for the time when every householder will have his pictures, not in long corridors and stately chambers, but as familiar friends; not because of their *monied*, but their *moral* worth.[33]

Pierre Bourdieu described the bourgeois aesthetic in the latter decades of the nineteenth century as one espousing disinterest, detachment and indifference. This was diametrically opposite to Hall's passionate need to draw people into a "euphoric state of breathless participation."[34] This popular aesthetic Bourdieu described as a need to identify with the character's joys and sufferings, earnestly willing a satisfying resolution to conflicts and events and in a sense actively living the lives of the characters.[35]

There was a general lack of confidence in English art in the early part of the nineteenth century and there were a number of reasons for this. Rome and Paris were still considered to be the main centres of art excellence and the trade in Old Masters that S. C. Hall felt so strongly about was eclipsing interest in contemporary British art. "High Art" – the monumental, idealised history paintings – so keenly promoted by the first President of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), never really found favour with English artists in the same way as they did in France and Germany. Instead, English artists and their patrons preferred more intimate subjects, familiar genre scenes more akin to Dutch and Flemish paintings of the seventeenth century. Until these became increasingly more acceptable and sought after, English artists did not have the same respect, nor could they command the same prices as their continental counterparts. However, there were a number of important factors leading to an improvement in the health of British Art as the Victorian era became established: the role of the Royal Academy; Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's patronage and popularisation of the arts; improved methods of reproducing art; and the influence of German art.

The Royal Academy was of vital importance to the growth of British art in the early nineteenth century as its annual summer exhibition, in existence since 1769, brought artists and patrons together, establishing reputations and facilitating a greater diversity of acceptable subject matter. The summer exhibition was the artistic event of the year and Hall not only referred to it in many of her stories but she also looked forward to attending it on many occasions. In her article on Thomas Gainsborough in The Art-Union she referred to the exhaustion and nervous anticipation of the artists in early April who had just completed their efforts for the Royal Academy:

> The last-last touch has been given to their works – the pictures are gone to the Academy to await their doom: whatever may be the result, the toiling man of genius or of patience, hopes he has done his best; the darling one – the produce of thought and care, of labouring days and wakeful nights – has left his roof, be it lofty or humble, accompanied by some heart-beatings and regrets.[36]

Queen Victoria (1819-1901) and Prince Albert (1819-61) were avid enthusiasts of art and sought to promote living British artists with their extensive patronage. During the 1840s and 50s Prince Albert was President of the Fine Arts Commission and he was instrumental in promoting the Great Exhibition of 1851. S. C. Hall asserted that:

> There is no question that the firm resolution of his Royal Highness Prince Albert made the Exhibition what it became ... a thorough success... it was a daring act thus to challenge the whole world: the nations and people among which and whom Art had grown into vigour, while among us it was yet comparatively in its infancy.[37]

The Halls dedicated the three volumes of Ireland to Prince Albert, referring to Ireland as "a country with which his Royal Highness is so closely, and so auspiciously, connected." S. C. Hall also undertook such extensive projects as the engraving of 150 pictures from the Queen's private collection of art, the project that Hall referred to in her letter to Francis Bennock above, as proving so costly.

According to Katherine Haskins, The Art Journal published more than 800 hand-engraved steel plate prints after contemporary British and Old Master paintings in the period from 1850-80. Haskins argued that the "Art Journal print" contributed enormously to mid-Victorian art appreciation in its choice of "imagery, artists, engravers, advertising and art writing." The art print fulfilled a role at an intersection between the ideals of high art and the enthusiastic response from the rising bourgeois class who sought to engage with art, its images and ideas.[38]

The influence of German art on the development of British aesthetics in the early nineteenth century was profound. Prince Albert's German background from the Saxon duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld was one contributing factor after his marriage to Queen Victoria in 1839 but in addition to that was the influence of the Nazarenes, S. C. Hall's championing of German art and a widespread admiration for German book illustration, in particular the work of Friedrich August Moritz Retzsch (1779-1857).

The Nazarenes were a group of German and Austrian painters who worked in Italy and who formed a group in 1809 entitled the Brotherhood of St Luke. They looked to the medieval ages both for the way they organised their group and also in their avowed aim to revive Christian art, especially through the use of the old fresco technique of painting. Their use of strong outline drawing and clear vivid colours reminiscent of late German medieval painting was striking and influenced a new generation of artists. Notable Nazarene artists included Peter von Cornelius (1783-1867), Friedrich Johann Overbeck (1789-1869), Franz Pforr (1788-1812) and Wilhelm von Schadow (1788-1862).

S. C. Hall was not slow to pick up on the interest in the work of the Nazarenes. William Vaughan has demonstrated in his major work on German Romanticism and English Art that The Art-Union was unmistakably Germanophile. For example, in his series on "Living Artists of Europe" which ran from 1844-45, five of the eight artists featured by S. C. Hall were German and included two of the Nazarenes listed above; Friedrich Johann Overbeck, Peter von Cornelius, Ernst Foerster (1800-85), Carl Heideloff (1789-1865) and Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1805-74).[39] Of course S. C. Hall also endeavoured to encourage English artists in whatever way he could and when the three competitions were announced for the redecoration of Westminster Hall (between 1843-46), The Art-Union provided regular articles on fresco technique, history painting and antiquarian drawing, ensuring that submitting artists were well prepared. He commissioned many young English artists to illustrate his Book of British Ballads (1842), which was dedicated to Louis, King of Bavaria, openly acknowledging that the volume was "suggested by the works of German artists." The Art Unions of the 1830s were set up in England along the lines of the German system which encouraged artists to become members. For a small fee, engravings were reproduced, exhibitions held and prizes offered to stimulate young artists and provide a forum for their work.

S. C. Hall also spread the word about German art and artists in other ways, reproducing engravings in his journal and profiling the German artists who specialised in the outline style of illustration of which Moritz Retzsch was the leading figure.[40] Retzsch inspired near hysteria in England in the 1830s

and 40s and when the Halls went to visit him in his house in Dresden in 1850, Hall enthused "One of the dreams of a life-time had been fully realised."[41] She elaborated by writing of the "author of those wonderful 'Outlines' which have been the admiration of the world for nearly half a century." Anna Jameson (1794-1860), a well known Dublin-born art historian of the period also visited him in 1834 and wrote of the "extraordinary genius Moritz Retzsch," extolling the strong moral sentiment of his work.[42] Retzsch's distinctive outline style where details and emotions were conveyed by the purest line was the means whereby the literary works of Johann W. von Goëthe (1749-1832), Gottfried A. Bürger (1747-94) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) were popularised. German editions of Goëthe's Faust were available in 1817 in England and English versions by 1820. A typical example (Fig. 2.3), dated 1828, shows an outline drawing by Retzsch from the play scene from Hamlet. The Irish artist Daniel Maclise borrowed heavily from it for his later painting of the same subject in 1842.

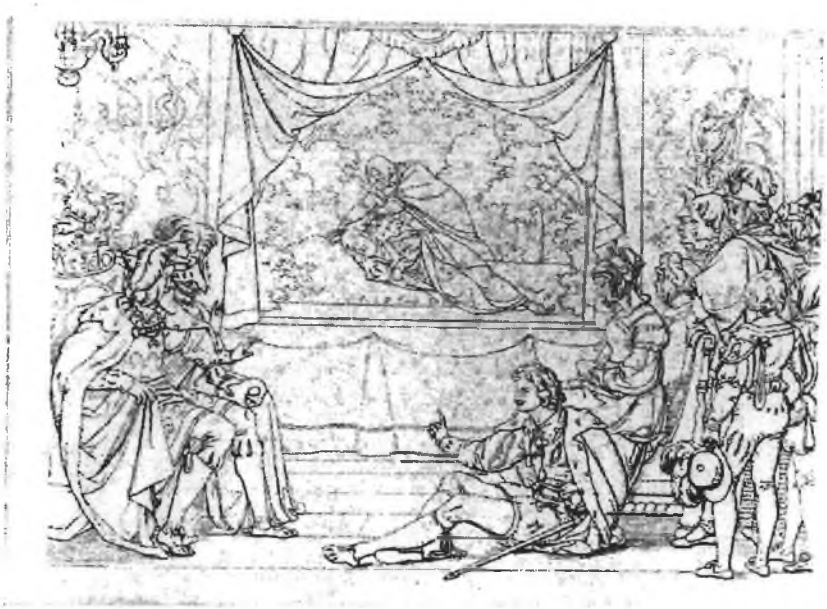


Fig. 2.3 "Hamlet" (Act III, Scene 2) by F. A.. M. Retzsch 1828. Outline drawing.

Apart from Daniel Maclise, many other contemporary artists emulated the style of Retzsch including Richard Dadd (1817-86), Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82) and Ford Madox Brown (1821-93). The illustrations for Hall's books

by John Franklin (fl. 1800-61) and Joseph Noel Paton also demonstrate his influence. Vaughan summarised the attraction of Retzsch thus:

> In his peculiar and slightly naïve style, there appears to have been some particular blend of qualities that was irresistible to Englishmen of the mid nineteenth century: a highly abstracting technique used in a specific and anecdotal manner, obscure subject-matter made comprehensible, strong moral sentiment expressed through the intriguing symbolism of threatened virtue – all these appear to have contributed to his success, providing the qualities of 'high' art that often seemed lacking in English work, yet at a level that was immediately accessible.[43]

This sense that German art stood for what was high minded and moral, as opposed to the light-hearted genre and narrative paintings prevalent in early nineteenth-century English art, was an important point in understanding the aesthetics of the period and it was to influence the flowering of illustrated books in England in the 1840s and 50s. Hall's writings were imbued with the same high-minded sense of morality and truth. Her illustrated books evince strong influences of the German "outline" style. Later chapters, especially Chapter 4, show just how the works of German artists and authors such as Jacob Grimm (1785-1863), Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859), and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777-1843) permeated her writings.

Hall's Publications and the Relationship of Illustration to Text

The final section of this chapter examines the relationship of illustration to text in four separate areas of Hall's writings: publications that were not illustrated and those that exemplified the purity of her ekphrastic writing without recourse to visual backup; publications where the text was written as an accompaniment to a given print or illustration; the impact of later illustrated editions on texts that were previously not illustrated; and finally, publications that were illustrated simultaneously with the creation of the text. My reasons for this exposition at this point are twofold. Firstly, as a popular writer and busy editor, Hall was published in a wide variety of formats. Therefore she serves as a

particularly good test case to study the relationship between text and illustration over a forty-year period spanning 1830-70, a time of great change in printing techniques and book design. Her intimate involvement with the art world and her husband's position as editor of The Art-Union meant that she supposedly had advantages over her contemporaries when it came to choice of artists or the design and production of her books. Secondly, by analysing the visual/verbal dynamic at the outset of this dissertation, it will provide a context for continued analysis in the remaining chapters when exploring her perceptions of nationality, childhood and gender. How Hall's use of ekphrasis worked to facilitate her mimetic representations, and how the visual/verbal relationship evolved through her work during that period forms the rationale for its explication in this chapter.

In the editorial to the first issue of The Illustrated London News in 1842, the editor Frederick Bayley (1808-53) stated: "Art – as now fostered in the department of wood-engraving – has become the bride of literature."[44] In the following four sections it will be shown that, like many a marriage, this relationship was not always mutually compatible.

The Use of Ekphrasis in Hall's Non-Illustrated Texts

How were decisions made as to which of Hall's books should be illustrated? In some cases it was simply the publisher's format. It was standard practice not to illustrate the typical formal novel issued in three volumes, the three-decker or triple decker as it was commonly known. This was the staple of the market and of the circulating libraries and the inevitable format for most writers in the 1830s and into the 1840s. Publishers were unwilling to take a risk with something more or less than a three-volume work and authors suffered at the counters of the circulation libraries and bookshops if they did not conform to standard expectations.[45]

The first editions of Hall's The Buccaneer (1832) and The Outlaw (1835) were published in three volumes each by Richard Bentley and only when the revised editions were published as Bentley's Standard Novels, No. 79 (1840) and 105 (1847), were they adorned with steel-engraved frontispieces by John

Cawse (1779-1862) (Fig. 2.4). The decision whether or not to illustrate a book could be decided by the target audience. If it was to be marketed at a juvenile audience or the Christmas or gift book market, then illustrations were invariably expected. Sometimes however, some of Hall's works, written initially for an adult audience would be marketed by publishers at the family audience. This was the case with Stories of the Irish Peasantry published by Chambers or Marian published by Colburn.

Fig.2.4 "The Protector, Robin and Guards" by John Cawse. The Buccaneer (1840).

It was not until Charles Dickens's serial publications revolutionised the market (each serial part generally consisting of 32 pages and 2 etchings) that the shift away from triple deckers gradually took place. John Harvey in Victorian Novelists and Their Illustrators described how the monthly "part" issue ushered in a radical change in the publication of fiction in England and critics were not even sure what to call them at first. Initially the new serial publications were seen as periodicals and The Pickwick Papers (1836-37) was not even regarded as a novel.[46]

Hall contributed many stories to journals where there were definite policies on illustration. The Chambers firm of publishers in Edinburgh, for example, serialised her Stories of the Irish Peasantry in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal from 1839-40 and published them as a collection in 1840. During these early years of Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, it was too expensive to include illustrations, especially as the proprietors wanted to maintain the competitive price of three-halfpence per weekly issue. As a result, the publication of the collected stories, which went through many editions, was never illustrated. Presumably the high cost of commissioning artwork was prohibitive. Other publishers such as George Virtue, who took over as

publisher of The Art-Union when S. C. Hall was in financial straits, specialised in illustrated publications. Virtue, Hall & Virtue published Hall's The Drawing-Room Table-Book [1848?] and Virtue, Spalding & Co. published her final publication Boons and Blessings (1875). Both publications contained numerous illustrations. Other publishers, well known for their illustrated publications, such as Chapman & Hall, Darton & Co., G. Routledge and Co. and S. W. Partridge published many of her works, the latter three specialising in juvenile publications. Such specialist publishers had ready access to illustrators and could supplement original illustrations with stock images from their vast repertoires of woodcuts and wood engravings. As the century progressed, major improvements in reproduction methods took place and illustrated publications became increasingly affordable and sophisticated.

Quite apart from such economic factors and practical considerations, Hall excelled at promoting art through her ekphrastic writing. This can be demonstrated through a brief survey of some of her earliest writings for The Art-Union over a five year period from June 1839-August 1844.[47] She wrote fourteen articles, averaging three articles per year and four chapters of an unfinished novel entitled The Artist: A Series of Sketches from the Life in 1841.[48] Every article is intimately concerned with art and she embeds herself in each of the articles in some form or other to add to the veracity of her account. In the article "The Story of David Dunbar" in June 1839, she met the artist while out walking in North Wales. Although a previous rival to the landscape artists J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) and Claude Lorraine (1600-82), Hall was shocked to find out that Dunbar was now blind. Likewise she met the young deaf and dumb boy artist Mogue Murphy out in the wilds of the Kerry mountains in "A Sketch at Glengariff" in her article for October 1840.[49] Her stories in the two-part series "The Moral of a Picture" are both framed by Hall's encounters with individuals who spark a train of thought leading to discussions of paintings that effectively changed lives for the better, bringing about moral change in previously dissolute characters. In her seven-part series "Memories of Pictures," Hall, under the guise of providing biographical information about the seven artists, which she does in a readable and entertaining manner, also

touched on many other areas of interest. Her informal style facilitated asides or glosses on topics ranging from the powerful memories of paintings encountered in childhood to the importance of paintings that tell stories that can move hearts and minds to the difficulties facing the widow and family of an artist who had died prematurely and to the preparations for the Royal Academy exhibitions as discussed above.

The article entitled "The Two Pictures" which appeared in October 1839 is a typical example of her style for The Art-Union and it is worth examining it in some detail as an example of "ekphrastic hope" in action.[50] Hall introduces the reader to her old Scottish friend Mistress Janet MacAvoy. Over the first half of the story she "paints" the most detailed portrait of her friend:

> … her black silk mittens were drawn up so as to meet the deep point lace ruffles, which certainly tempt one to "covet and desire;" the little foot was encased in a high-heeled shoe; the apron was of Indian muslin, flounced with embroidery; a white folded kerchief showed "pigeon craw fashion" beneath the distinct folds of a black mode cloak, garnished with *such* lace! - but the head – it was as fine a study as an artist could desire of the antique:

The critical realist description conjures MacAvoy's appearance and how it reflects the subject's personality: "Her nose is little and pointed, it could impale a foe and defend a friend." Mistress MacAvoy visits Hall in her house, "The Rosery" at Old Brompton and we are given a further portrait of MacAvoy:

> seated under the great mulberry tree, as if she were one of those dames of the olden time – whom Mr. Nash has of late so happily portrayed, - and looks something like the ancient shepherdess of my grandmother's embroidery, for she wears gay colours, and has a *penchant* for roses under her bonnet.[51]

As the reader approaches the final third of the story, the subject of the story "The Two Pictures" or the "twa pecturs" is broached. Mistress MacAvoy loved Hall's collection of engravings and she was particularly overcome by "Allan's portraits of Scott and Burns." Although neither of the engravings is reproduced in the article as there were very few illustrations in the early issues

of The Art-Union, the reader is given a very clear description, interspersed with pertinent dialogue between Hall and MacAvoy. The latter knew the "peasant poet" Robert Burns, had come from the same neighbourhood, knew his wife, his poems and had a scrap of his handwriting in her possession. With Hall's extensive description of the engravings, there was no need whatsoever to reproduce the images, such was the detail provided. She complimented the artist, Sir William Allan (1782-1850) and the engraver John Burnet (1784-1868), who interpreted the paintings so sensitively (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6).

Fig. 2.5 "Fictitious Portrait of Robert Burns" by Sir William Allan (n. d.)
Fig. 2.6 "Sir Walter Scott, 1st Bt" by Sir William Allan (1831).

Hall expressed the hope that no Scottish homes would be "without these admirable aids to a true relish and comprehension of the men and of their works." She reflected on how both writers died broken hearted: "the over-grasping of the one [Scott], the thoughtlessness of the other [Burns], were both fatal." Ultimately, genius, like beauty, could be a very "dangerous" gift. The story ends as MacAvoy and Hall consider the men of genius and their flaws: "it is man's improper ambition or perverse wilfulness that soils his greatness."

This typical story demonstrates how Hall framed her work, bringing in themes that were of such importance to her. Hall paints MacAvoy[52] with her words as accurately as any artist would with his palette. She portrays her in two settings, the second time in her garden at "The Rosery" in a suitably picturesque spot. Hall's references to her own home, her grandmother's embroidery and her collection of engravings add an extra intimacy with the reader which gives the account such authenticity and relaxed informality. These rhetorical devices were perfected by Hall and undoubtedly contributed to her contemporary popularity. Conveniently, MacAvoy is Scottish, knew Robert Burns (1759-96) and had met Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) briefly so she was the perfect companion to view the engravings in an emotionally cathartic way. By naming the artist and engraver of the portraits, Hall promotes the engravings, urging the democratisation of the images and wishing them in every Scottish home. The spectator is inspired thus to read the poems and books by Burns and Scott, to reflect on their lives and to contemplate the moral lesson evoked by the fragility of fame compared to the permanence of the hereafter. The strength of her ekphrastic writing can therefore be appreciated on a number of levels. The heroine or leading character is described ekphrastically and the actual engravings are pored over in great detail by Hall who wanted to popularise and educate her readers through her verbal description.

Two years before this article, Hall's three-volume novel Uncle Horace was published by Colburn and although it was not illustrated, it was one of her most ekphrastic works. One of her main characters, Philip Marsden, was a sculptor and, like many artists in her factual and fictional writings, he suffered from "poverty of *circumstances*, not the poverty of genius."[53] Hall, like many Romantic writers, subscribed to the notion of the tortured genius, struggling through adversity to create works destined for immortality. However, what is of most interest in the novel is how she created metaphors for two of her heroines through a number of art works. The key passage is encountered in the second chapter of the novel as we are introduced to the main heroine, Mary, in her chamber.

> Over the low, white marble chimney-piece hung that exquisite print of the Trial of Lord William Russell – it is the picture, of all others, for a lady's chamber. What woman can think of the womanly devotion and heroism of Lady Rachel, without being better for the thought?[54] There was a splendid engraving of Scott, another of Wordsworth, Newton's ever-living Vicar of Wakefield; a few drawings selected evidently more by feeling than judgement, - the *science* had not been cultivated in proportion to the selector's *love* of the beautiful art. In one corner supported on a pedestal of black marble, and canopied by a drapery of black velvet, was an exquisite model of Canova's Melancholy Magdalen.[55]

Mary endured many trials and challenges throughout an eventful novel replete with kidnappings, duels, tainted reputations, madness and misunderstandings. She grows in maturity in the course of the novel, displaying great heroism. Her stoic endurance paralleled that of Lady Rachel who was the subject of the inspirational print that adorned her chamber.[56] The "splendid engraving of Scott" was more than likely one and the same as that to which "The Two Pictures" referred. To emphasise her metaphoric use of the art listed above, Hall's secondary heroine was called Magdalen, so it is no coincidence that she drew our attention to Canova's "exquisite model." The reader is therefore alert from the outset to what may lie ahead. Magdalen's brother was Philip Marsden, the sculptor and the tragedy of Magdalen's early thwarted love and his untimely death is recounted when she gazed at the prints in the old farmhouse that turned out to be his old family home. Magdalen proves her relationship to her lover's mother by showing her the miniature she had received from him when they last parted. Art works therefore herald the themes of the novel and are used as plot devices and proof of identity. It was one of Hall's earliest novels, written at a time when she was also engaged in writing dramas for the theatre. The following passage provides an example of how she self-consciously stood back from her novel, disengaging from the

narrative in order to see her scene from the vantage point of an artist or a playwright.

> The contrast between the two figures was striking, and almost terrific; - the Count held back, with a determined and fiend-like aspect – his tall manly figure being considerably thrown up, by the bright glare of the blazing fire, which relieved the shadowy effect of the supplicating female. – All the accessories were in excellent keeping – the dark drapery of the window – a beautifully shaped sofa – a harp with scattered music on the stand near it – a vase of flowers, round which were thrown books, and one or two single figures carved out of alabaster – all harmonised; - but all were subservient to the action of the two living objects, who were stirred by deep yet perfectly distinct passions.[57]

Hall was "illustrating" the scene for the reader, providing the kind of detail that would cry out for an accompanying illustration in novels of later years. For the present, the reader is presented with the verbal representation of the visual and has the choice either to accept or reject Hall's ekphrastic discourse. In Mitchell's meaning of "ekphrastic hope", Hall has enabled us to imagine the scenes she portrays with clarity and detail, rendering them visible to the reader.

The Primacy of Art Works with Hall's Texts as Accompaniment

Visual art in the form of engravings, paintings or sculpture provided the initial impetus and inspiration for many of Hall's stories. The second area under discussion examines publications in which the text was written as an accompaniment to a *given* print or illustration. This was common practice in the first half of the nineteenth century, in particular for annuals and gift books. Hall edited The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not from 1829-37 and numerous other compilations, often working with a selection of engravings available to the publisher who had commissioned the work. As the editor, she would have made the decisions as to which engraving to send to which contributor. A letter

from the poet and man of letters, Leigh Hunt, dated 21 September 1848 demonstrates this very clearly as follows:

> Dear Mrs Hall
>
> Though the second title of this poem is not very applicable to your engraving, I must beg you to oblige me with retaining it; otherwise half of my theme will come too abruptly on the reader. I am not used to write verses, except on impulse, and therefore have been obliged to draw on some previous reflections upon the subject, which bore me, you see, on a very long journey.[58]

Some writers were happy to work with whatever image was given but it was often a challenge for others to provide material on demand as in this instance.

The above letter referred to Hunt's poem England, Pro and Con, suggested by an engraving of Sir Augustus Wall Callcott's (1779-1844) Wooden Bridge painted c. 1835 (Fig. 2.7). The painting appeared in The Vernon Gallery, No. 23 (1850).

Fig. 2.7 Wooden Bridge by Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, (c. 1835).

The correspondence which was addressed to Mrs Hall proved that she worked on this publication with her husband, but was not credited as co-editor despite her obvious involvement. Hunt, in further correspondence on the topic bemoaned that "Callcott's white skies quench all the fire left in me, in spite of his machine" and in the same letter dated 29 November 1848 he added a note as follows:

> With a world of apologies from Mrs. Hall's business-driven, bewildered, brain-deadened, and incompetent humble servant.

> P. S. Never praise me, please; but think as highly as you chuse of my efforts and my good will. I cannot write verses to order.[59]

The dynamic that existed between illustration and text in the first half of the nineteenth century was quite different to that which might be expected today. Given Charles Dickens's subsequent reputation, it is difficult to imagine that he was originally hired by the publishers Chapman and Hall to provide the text to suit Robert Seymour's proposed series of engravings depicting Cockney sporting life in The Pickwick Papers (1836).[60] Similarly, George Cruikshank believed that he himself was the principal "author" of The Tower of London (1840), with Harrison Ainsworth the mere writer whose role was to complement the illustrations. As Martin Meisel argued, the precedent for such collaborations with a popular artist was in place earlier in the century with, for example, William Combe penning his verse based on George Rowlandson's The Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque (1812).[61] As a result, stories included in the annuals and keepsakes of the period were often seen strictly as subservient to the beautifully engraved plates. Robert Southey (1774-1843), the English Poet Laureate preceding William Wordsworth, wrote to the Scottish poet Allan Cunningham (1784-1842):

> The literary department, make what exertions you will, must be as inferior in its effect upon the sale to the pictorial one, as it is in its cost. At the best, Allan, these annuals are picture-books for grown children. They are good things for the artists and engravers.[62]

The most expensive element of the annuals' production was undoubtedly the fees for the engravers who were held in great esteem. S. C. Hall wrote of the large sums of money exchanged, with costs payable firstly to artists for the loan of pictures to be engraved and secondly the fees for engravers to produce the plates. In one issue of The Amulet, S. C. Hall had to pay nearly twelve hundred guineas for twelve prints, one engraving alone costing 180 guineas for the engraving and 210 guineas for the drawing from the artist.[63] These economic factors elevated the status of the artist and engraver and publications were frequently bought purely for the quality of the illustrations.

In the Edinburgh Literary Journal for 17 October 1829, The Amulet for 1830, which was edited by S. C. Hall, was reviewed by the anonymous editor who made a crucial point about the text/visual relationship in early nineteenth-century publications.

> We are often provoked, in looking over the Annuals, to see how feebly and poorly some of the beautiful embellishments are illustrated by the accompanying poems. This is painfully conspicuous in one or two instances in The Amulet ... The Gleaner which is a glorious picture is almost destroyed by some namby-pamby verses of Bernard Barton.[64]

Barton admitted in a preface to a juvenile annual, The Juvenile Scrap-Book (1836-50) which he edited in 1836, that he was given a packet of engravings and told to write appropriate poetry and prose to accompany them in the annual. His was not an isolated case and this foregrounding of image over text is therefore of vital importance to an understanding of book production in the first half of the nineteenth century. The corollary could also hold true, however. In an article on Thomas Hood's The Gem: A Literary Annual, there was a review of Sir Walter Scott's poem Death of Keeldar which was written to illustrate one of Abraham Cooper's pictures.[65] In this case, the jury weighed heavily in favour of the text: "The following are Sir Walter Scott's verses, which we admire more than the plate they were written to illustrate."[66]

So how do Hall's own writings, outside of her editorial work, evolve within this scenario in which paintings and engravings provided the impetus for so many of her tales? She appeared to have little difficulty writing on demand to suit whatever the engraving required. Such publications where this is evident included her annual The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not, and the anthology The Drawing-Room Table-Book. In one simple example from The Juvenile-Forget-Me-Not, Hall takes the engraving of a school scene which inspired her short story entitled "Holyday Time," a moral tale extolling the two boys who showed the "absence of self love" and were rewarded with a holiday for their "sacrifice of self interest." She was evidently inspired to write this story based on the artist's illustration (Fig. 2. 8), as her textual references exactly replicate

the scene as portrayed and the story is somewhat short on substance otherwise. Hall had inserted a moral dimension to her text, whereas the image focused on behaviour that would probably not have been tolerated by even the most mild-mannered of teachers. She referred to the artist again at the end of the tale by asking her young companion (and by extension, her readers) to peruse the scene carefully: "And now my Mary may lay by her work, and look at Mr. Richter's pretty picture of Holyday Time."[67]

In "The First Sorrow," from The Drawing-Room Table-Book (Fig. 2.9), the print showed a young child dismayed at seeing her pet bird lying dead beside its wicker cage. This actual incident was not relayed until half way through the story but it was deftly woven into her story of two children, one who was badly managed by her parents and raised in an atmosphere of false excitements and ill-advised luxury in the city, and the other who lived in a rural environment, content with the kind of pursuits that helped her to develop at a normal pace, just like in Hall's own childhood experience.

Fig. 2.8 "Holiday Time" by Henry Richter. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830).
Fig. 2.9 "The First Sorrow" by R. Westall. The Drawing-Room Table-Book (1848?)

It was a moral tale dealing with many of Hall's central themes: mortality; parental misjudgement and responsibility; and the importance of spiritual development, not the empty ostentation associated with the accumulation of accomplishments. As editor of publications such as these, she could pick and choose which engravings would suit her purpose best so she had the advantage over contributors such as Leigh Hunt or Bernard Barton.

The following example demonstrates a particularly absorbing relationship between image and text and it merits detailed examination as it appears to be the first Irish image used by Hall to inspire an Irish text. "The Irish Cabin" appeared in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not in 1830 (Fig. 2.10). From my research carried out so far, I have been unable to locate whether it was used elsewhere as a print and it does not appear to be based on any of Maclise's paintings.[68] The most likely sequence of events was that Hall chose the Maclise print to illustrate her story from amongst a selection of engraved plates. It was less likely that Daniel Maclise had read her story and was providing an instance from it, although, as it was relatively early days in his own career, it was not improbable.

Fig. 2.10 "The Irish Cabin" by D. Maclise. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830).

Maclise completed a portrait of Hall several years later in 1833 (Fig. 1.1) but they were in regular contact at this time for social events. Another alternative could have been that she commissioned him to portray a rural cabin scene which the author could loosely use when she had decided exactly what to write. Hall creatively re-presents the depicted scene in her tale, describes it in exact detail as an element of the story but her tale is not a narrow imitation of the scene. The hero of the story is portrayed but the image is not one that is central to a particular episode of her story. According to Leighton and Surridge, such images were placed "proleptically" at the beginning of narratives but in this case, the author bides her time and refers back to it several pages through her tale and then again at the conclusion.[69] Hall understood that readers of these annuals viewed the image first, anticipated the event it portrayed and assessed whether or not the text matched their expectations.

In the Derridean sense of mimesis, Hall constructs a world of illusion in her narrative, appropriating elements of Maclise's world, re-interpreting it for her own purposes. Jacques Derrida described texts as "doubles,"[70] always situated in their relationship to what has preceded them. Hall's story, to follow his logic, was a mimetic text intertextually related to its original model. Différence, as the principle of mimesis which allows creative freedom, facilitates and constructs a world of illusion, thoughts, images and words, within which the existing world is transformed into something else. If the sequence was reversed, and Maclise did in fact read Hall's story first, the argument still holds true. There is a symbiotic relationship between text and image, neither limited by the other.

The story itself is multi-layered. Hall's authorial voice is given to Florence Clanricarde, a young Irish woman living in London.[71] Most, but not all of her children's books featuring Irish characters tended to be set in England rather than Ireland. Her interest in featuring her countrymen and women was significant from her own perspective as an Anglo-Irish woman now settled in London. Florence was chatting to her friend Jemima Rayworth who, from the tone of the tale appeared to be a young child of around ten years of age. The introductory three pages found the two friends discussing what would become

the core theme of the story - English prejudice. After pointing out Jemima's prejudiced views, Florence told the story behind a little drawing of an Irish cabin scene which she had in front of her and that she hoped would give Jemima greater insight into aspects of Irish life and customs. The drawing by Daniel Maclise gave Florence an opportunity to describe the "Pattern" - the music and dancing scene in the valley, which was being sketched by the young woman sitting outside the cabin. There are at least six other characters, two pigs and a cock also in view. The man looking good-humouredly over the shoulder of the woman sketching was supposedly Larry Mooney whose tale was told over the remaining thirteen pages.

Hall employed a number of rhetorical strategies in this story that were common throughout her work: among them are a parallel author, Florence Clanricard, who narrated the tale on her behalf; an earnest assertion to readers assuring them of the veracity of the tale; a framed story within a story; tropes of adversity followed by success; and the hard-working, conscientious character pitched against the lazy, flawed character who made life difficult for the former. In addition, the story provided insight into notions of the wider social forces impacting on the characters. In "The Irish Cabin" we find out about English prejudice, especially against the Irish and Scots, the "Pattern"[72] day, the dangers of intemperance, recruiting officers looking for men to fight in the Napoleonic Wars, harsh living conditions and the many burdens that faced Irish peasant women. Susan Egenolf described how women writers of this period often employed such narrative "glosses" to comment on and critique politics and society. In this way, they participated in masculine discourses whilst remaining firmly within their womanly domestic sphere.[73] Hall never had qualms when it came to interjecting with prefaces, asides, commentaries on illustrations and summaries of moral dilemmas and resolutions.

In terms of its formal qualities, the story conformed to what Maria Nikolajeva has described as a female chronotope.[74] Male texts structured time as linear and space as open whereas female texts featured time as circular and space as closed and confined. The latter facilitated the process of the spiritual maturation of the protagonists, whether they were male or female.

There is double circularity in "The Irish Cabin." Jemima learned through her "real time" dialogue with Florence that her views were biased and incorrect and the story based on the print deepened her understanding of the erroneousness of prejudicial opinions. Happily in this story, the two brothers, Larry and Barney, fared well, ultimately returning to Ireland after fighting in the Napoleonic Wars to live happily with their families.[75] True to form, and despite the central theme of avoiding national prejudices, Hall took the opportunity provided by a detail in Maclise's print to chide the Irish for their failings. Florence had corrected Jemima just a few pages earlier for her sweeping statement "because, you know the Irish are *all* passionate, and revengeful, and idle, and so dirty!"[76] Several pages later, when referring to the engraving, Florence bemoaned the fact that the cock was crowing on a dung hill which was dirty and too close to the house. She reassured Jemima that:

> Nevertheless, I honestly assure you, that, where the Irish peasants are properly instructed by kind landlords, they become exceedingly clean and neat, and it is only for want of knowing better that they are ever dirty.[77]

While Hall's overriding mission was to acknowledge the many virtues of the Irish, she rarely let an opportunity go by where she could highlight the potential for improvement. Like the benevolent English landlord, her maternal sense of duty succeeded in infantilising the Irish peasant. Hall's attitudes were not unique. She was well-read and knew exactly how Irish people were perceived, all the more reason for her didactic mission to help change these negative attitudes at the source.

Finally, who was the woman sketching in the foreground of the engraving "The Irish Cabin" (Fig. 2.10)? She bore no direct relationship to the tale of Larry Mooney. Her dress and bonnet were not typical of the Irish peasant at this time, nor was her occupation. Sketching was something that well-to-do ladies from the Big House did,[78] one of the many accomplishments expected in a young lady. The little children think the palette is something to be tasted and played with as it was probably a novelty for them. Hall described how the good-humoured Larry peeped over the lady's shoulder "doubtless he

is much gratified at witnessing her employment."[79] Like Hall, this lady mingled comfortably with the peasantry, sketched and recorded their customs and identified intimately with their plight. Perhaps she was therefore a metaphor for Hall herself, with S. C. Hall as the benevolent Larry, looking over her shoulder, impressed with her endeavours. The ambiguity of the image and its relationship to the text adds to the complexity of potential interpretation, making it a particularly successful and intriguing collaboration.

Annuals and gift books therefore lent themselves in particular to this mode of production, whereby authors and poets took as their starting point a given art object which was illustrated adjacent to their literary interpretation or creative response. For Leigh Hunt, it was a struggle to perform in this way whereas Hall accepted the challenge and responded, sometimes with more success than others as has been shown above. This obverse ekphrasis, whereby the agenda was established by a given art work was to prove short-lived as book illustration began to evolve in a radically new direction. As the literary began to assert precedence over the visual, the latter was diminished in the process and relegated to, in many cases, an appendage taking its cue from the author's intent. This legacy has dogged book illustration ever since.

Publications Illustrated in Later Editions of Hall's Work

The third area of investigation in this chapter focuses on writings by Hall that were not originally illustrated but were in later editions. This section explores how this impacted on her texts. A number of Hall's popular stories were published in later illustrated editions, necessitating revisions to the text in deference to plates introduced to illustrate her work. She readily adapted her stories to facilitate the engravings so that they become integral to her story.

Some plates were entirely random and bore no relationship to her text: her challenge was to make them fit and the onus rested on her, as in the previous section dealing with the primacy of the artwork. The other more usual practice was that artists were commissioned to interpret her text directly for a new edition. In those cases, the challenge rested with the artist. Beginning with the former kind, it was often the case that the textual changes were very minor, requiring the addition of a qualifying sentence or two.

Fig. 2.11"Titian in his Study" by C. R. Bone. The Drawing-Room Table-Book. (1848?).

On other occasions, it gave her the opportunity to expand on favoured themes. The following example shows one instance of how she made extensive changes. The story concerning the money-lender, James Hackett, in "The Moral of a Picture No. 1: The Usurer" that appeared in The Art-Union in January 1840, appeared in a different guise several years later in The Drawing-Room Table-Book (1848?). Retitled "Titian in His Studio" it was accompanied by an engraving of a painting of Titian by C. R. Bone, (Fig. 2.11).[80] The insertion of this image gave Hall almost four extra pages to discuss not only the merits of the great master and the inspirational range of paintings he created but also an opportunity to dwell on the power of painting in general and the response it could evoke. She appealed to the reader at the beginning of her story as follows:

> How impossible it is to look upon a picture without being carried to the scene it represents! Whether perfect, or otherwise, as a work of art, it is always suggestive: every painting that we hang upon our walls, every engraving we turn over in our portfolios,

> may be the parent of ideas, the record of events, or introduction to foreign lands.[81]

This was a powerful example of how she justified her use of ekphrasis to make an impassioned plea for her most deeply felt emotions about the power of art. She believed that art inspires us, that it stimulates thought and broadens the mind in all sorts of important ways. Despite the fact that the art might be flawed, it still retains this extraordinary capacity to suggest and demonstrate deep truths. The sentiment of the art was always more important to Hall than the artistic excellence.[82] In the same essay, Hall also referred to a number of contemporary painters and gave examples from the free days at the Westminster-Hall exhibition where members of the public were overcome by the subjects on display: "An old woman stood opposite Paton's 'Christ bearing his Cross' until tears rolled down her cheeks."[83] Hall incorporated elements of another essay she had in The Art-Union entitled "Two Visits to Westminster Hall" which appeared in August 1843 in which she earnestly recorded the effect of good art on the "humbler classes," enlightening and improving them and keeping them away from the "'penny hops' and public-houses."[84] Likewise in "Titian in his Studio" she argued that "the whole current of human feeling may be changed by the presence of a fine, high-toned work of art."[85] This sets the scene as Hall leads into her story concerning James Hackett, giving it greater credibility along with insights into the wider art context as a result of the accompanying engraving.[86]

In Hall's third edition of Sketches which was published by How & Parsons in 1842, it is revealing to note how she revised her texts where necessary to make the new illustrations "fit" her tales. The first two editions were not illustrated so she had to be notified beforehand about the engravings for the new edition so she could make the necessary changes.

With the more costly *hors texte* or tipped-in steel-engraved plates, the publisher often reused illustrations available to the firm or negotiated suitable images from preferred artists or other publishing houses. Daniel Maclise's series of portraits of beautiful women were of particular interest at the time as his reputation was held in very high regard and they were considered as

important additions to her book. He had already provided a number of such portraits for Heath's Book of Beauty between 1835-37, published by Longman when Lady Blessington was editing the annual and he did a further five plates for Leitch Ritchie's Ireland Picturesque and Romantic (1837-38), all of which were reproduced as plates with different titles in Hall's Sketches. For example, two of the plates used in Ritchie's publication, "The Jew's Harp" and "A Lady at Prayer" became "Norah Clary" and "Geraldine," (Figs. 2.12 and 2.13) in Hall's work.[87]

Fig. 2.12 "Norah Clary" (formerly "The Jew's Harp") by D. Maclise. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 2.13 "Geraldine" (formerly "A Lady at Prayer") by D. Maclise. Sketches (1844).

In "Norah Clary," there is an additional paragraph at the beginning of the story which is conveniently opposite Maclise's portrait of Norah. Hall describes the setting exactly as in the engraving, before the arrival of her companion:

> She was sitting under the shadow of a fragrant lime tree, that overhung a very ancient well; and, as the water fell into her pitcher, she was mingling with its music the tones of her "Jew's harp," – the only instrument upon which Norah Clary had learned to play.[88]

In the original versions of this story, the text begins at the next paragraph with Norah addressing her lover Morris Donovan who is sitting beside her. Not all engravings are seamlessly incorporated however and in the story entitled "Geraldine," which had not appeared in the earlier editions of her Sketches, she acknowledged the debt she owed to Maclise for the inspiration.

> Where my distinguished countryman, Mr. Maclise, obtained the original of this portrait, I cannot tell; but it brought to my mind an incident that occurred to me a few summers ago, when visiting Honfleur.[89]

It is a very short story and not one of her best in terms of plot and incident. The tale hangs chiefly on the mystery of Miss Geraldine and curiosity regarding the subject of her prayers. Hall gives a thorough description of her heroine, directly from the engraving:

> one small hand held the rosary, the other shaded her face; the cloak appeared abandoned to its own drapery – her hair fell, as you see, in the most *degagé* undress... her eyes were anything but quiet – they rambled from corner to corner of their fringed penthouses, with an observant, rather than a coquettish expression.[90]

Hall appeared to take her cue entirely from Maclise's plate and on this occasion was lacking in inspiration. It does not appear to have been reprinted in any further editions.

Many of the illustrations were specially commissioned for the illustrated Sketches as noted at the beginning of this section. The majority of the wood-engravings, in particular the larger vignettes at the start of each sketch were of this kind. Two typical examples included "The Drowned Lover" in "Peter the Prophet" by William Harvey (1796-1866) or "The Outlaw's Burial" in "Captain Andy" by George Cruikshank (1792-1878).[91] Harvey and Cruikshank were familiar with her text for which they provided accompanying illustrations. Whereas she revised elements of her earlier text for the new edition as would be the norm for any later edition, there was no need to alter the text relating to

these illustrations as the artists have replicated her text accurately (Figs. 2.14 and 2.15).

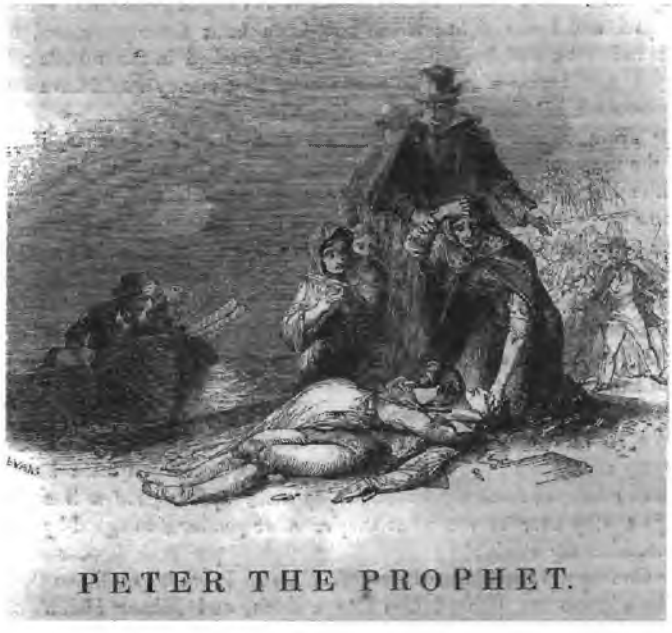


Fig. 2.14 "The Drowned Lover" by William Harvey. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 2.15 "The Outlaw's Burial" by George Cruikshank. Sketches (1844).

Minor adjustments had to be made to some texts however where the artist may not have strictly adhered to her narrative. For example, in (Fig. 4.5) in Chapter 4, the artist Henry MacManus (1810-78) depicted Master Ben teaching his pupils in an outdoor setting. Hall, in her original 1829 version, had Master Ben teaching his pupils inside his cabin. Her text for the illustrated version shows how she made subtle changes to add to the coherence of later narrative:

> In Summer, indeed, he would, occasionally, lead his pupils into the open air, permitting the biggest of them to bring his chair of state; and while the fresh ocean breeze played around them, he would teach them all he knew ... but, usually, he considered his lessons more effectual, when they were learned under his roof.[92]

The smaller vignettes at the end of each sketch were more likely to be ones that were chosen from a series of available wood-engravings that could be used in different contexts. For example the vignette "The Patient Watcher"

by William Evans at the end of "Mary Ryan's Daughter" is a simplified version of his "Interior of a Cabin" (Fig. 3.16 in Chapter 3) used in vol. 3 of Ireland. Many of W. H. Brooke's topographical scenes likewise would have suited other publications with a local history or travel-guide emphasis. Wood-engravings from Midsummer Eve were used for other publications also. A typical example can be seen in a publication entitled Stories of the Flowers by Gertrude P. Dyer which was published by Virtue & Co. in 1877. Frederick Goodall's image of Sydney showing his self-portrait to Eva and Frederick W. Hulme's image of Dovecote Cottage (Figs. 2.16-2.17) were reproduced for other purposes in Stories of the Flowers (Figs. 2.18-2.19). Dyer's publication included an Introduction by Hall who commented that it was "a happy if not an entirely original idea to make flowers tell their stories."[93] There were many other instances where wood blocks were reused. For instance, the Halls were close friends of Thomas Crofton Croker whose Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland (1825-27) had contributed to their passion for antiquarian research and folklore. Later editions of Croker's publication made ample use of illustrations used in publications by the Halls during the 1840s.

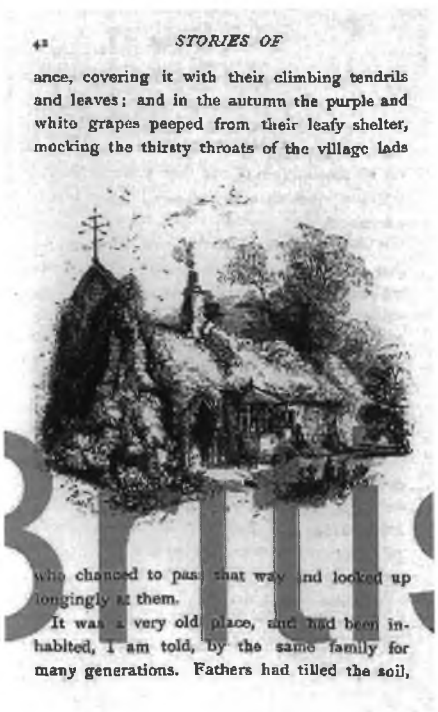
It is important to acknowledge the advent of colour printing and its impact on Hall's work, especially for later illustrated editions. In the 1830s and earlier, the convention was that one defining frontispiece was sufficient to set the tone for the book. This was evident also with colour printing, albeit with more eye-catching results. A striking example of the use of colour frontispieces can be seen in Hall's Chronicles of Cosy Nook: A Book for the Young (1875) published by Marcus Ward & Co. with its chromolithographed frontispiece and title page (Fig. 2.20). Though the text has many accompanying wood-engravings, reproduced in black and white, the colour frontispiece and binding set it very much in the children's gift book market. Originally her "Cosy Nook Stories" appeared at regular intervals in the St. James's Magazine during her tenure as editor, with a running title "For the Young in the Household in Cozy Nook."[94] None of these stories was illustrated when originally published from 1861-1862. Therefore the attractive compilation brought her stories to a much wider audience.

Fig. 2.16 "Eva and Sidney" by Frederick Goodall. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Fig. 2.17 "Dovecote Cottage" by Frederick Hulme. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Fig. 2.18 Illustration by Frederick Goodall. Stories of the Flowers (1877).

Fig. 2.19 Illustration by Frederick Hulme. Stories of the Flowers (1877).



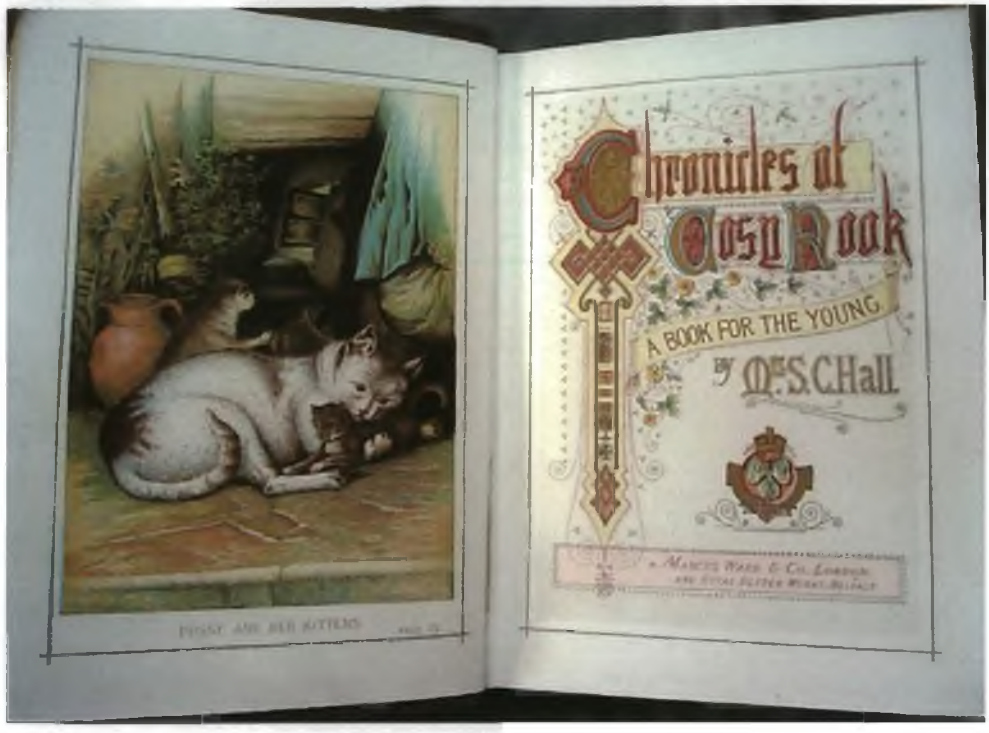


Fig. 2.20. Frontispiece and title page. Chronicles of Cosy Nook (1875).

In some instances, one edition of a book was issued in full colour at a more expensive rate by the publisher for the de luxe end of the market and others at a more economical rate, purely in black and white. The British Library copy of The Adventures and Experiences of Biddy Dorking to which is added The Story of the Yellow Frog (Fig. 2.21), edited by Hall, illustrated by Harrison Weir and published by Griffith and Farran in 1858 is colour printed throughout. The copy in the National Art Library has a hand-coloured wood-engraved frontispiece but the remaining illustrations are in black and white.

Fig. 2.21. "Biddy after her return from the Show" by Harrison Weir. Biddy Dorking (1858).

Yet another example from Oxford University, digitised and made available by Google is only reproduced in black and white. There is a great deal of variety therefore to be found even within the same edition.

The revolution in colour printing and the rise of the toy book in the 1850s came about too late to have any major effect on Hall's career and although she edited and contributed to a number of books such as Ronald's Reason (1865) and Animal Sagacity (1868) that were produced in a format similar to that of the toy books, they were less typical of her oeuvre. As will be seen in the next section, the genre of illustration most readily identifiable with Hall was the *livre romantique*.

Publications Illustrated Simultaneously with Hall's texts

The fourth and final section of this chapter examines works by Hall that were illustrated simultaneously with the publication of the text. There is some overlap with the last section as essentially the artists who worked from her text, such as William Harvey and George Cruikshank in the section above, were operating in the same way as the artists who interpreted Hall's work to coincide with publication. This section will therefore address S. C. Hall's method of recruiting artists for these ambitious publications. It will also discuss the *livre romantique* or the Romantic Book because, as a style, the *livre romantique* represents the highest point of achievement in the synthesis of text and image for this era so it is worth outlining some of its characteristics. I will conclude with an exploration of the significance of serialisation, using two examples from Hall's output - one a *livre romantique*. Serialised novels inevitably were read differently compared to book versions. The reader was aware of the limits of the magazine space, and the length of time to complete a novel. Hall had a definite preference for the book version. Nonetheless, publishers did not necessarily choose to publish a work until it had achieved success initially as a serial.

The format which idealised illustrated book production in the mid-nineteenth century was the *livre romantique*. There are some beautiful examples of the *livre romantique* amongst Hall's publications during what was

the peak period of her illustrated books, the 1840s, and it is the style that characterises her most memorable achievements. Examples include Tales of Women's Trials (1847), Midsummer Eve (1848), Stories of the Governess (1852) and The Prince of the Fair Family (1867). The travel books written by the Halls were also prime examples of the *livre romantique* and included the following: Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c. (1841-43), A Week in Killarney (1843), Pilgrimages to English Shrines (1850), The Book of the Thames (1854), Tenby (1860) and The Book of South Wales, Wye and the Coast (1861).

From roughly 1820-60 the term *livre romantique* was used to describe a style of book production characterised by numerous wood-engraved vignettes that were invariably integrated with the text, in contrast to the individual unpaginated plates added either at intervals throughout the book or at the end of a text block. It was used originally to describe French romantic literature from 1830-43 but was adopted to refer to a much broader European area and time span, in particular, German and English book publications. French publishers first applied the process of end-grain wood-engraving to book design which revolutionised the speed and cost of reproduction and German publishers and artists were swift to follow suit. French and German artists and book designers were highly influential.[95] Notable features of the *livre romantique* included decorative initial letters, the decorative panel or slip, the "stick border," a range of decorated letter forms on the title-page and greater textual and visual unity achieved through rule borders creating picture frames around each page (Figs. 2.22-2.25).

John Buchanan-Brown in Early Victorian Illustrated Books described the romantic rejection of classical restraint seen in the subject matter of the illustrations of this period. There was a fascination with the comic, macabre and seamier side of life, realistically and not idealistically depicted. In addition, the lure of the Orient and distant times was explored and plundered for inspiration – the medieval and the gothic being particularly popular. Romances and sagas flourished, both in literary and artistic circles.

Fig. 2.22 Left. Wood-engraved title page for Sketches of Irish Character (1844).
Fig. 2.23 Right. Decorative initial letter; two dragonflies resembling the initial "H". Midsummer Eve (1848).

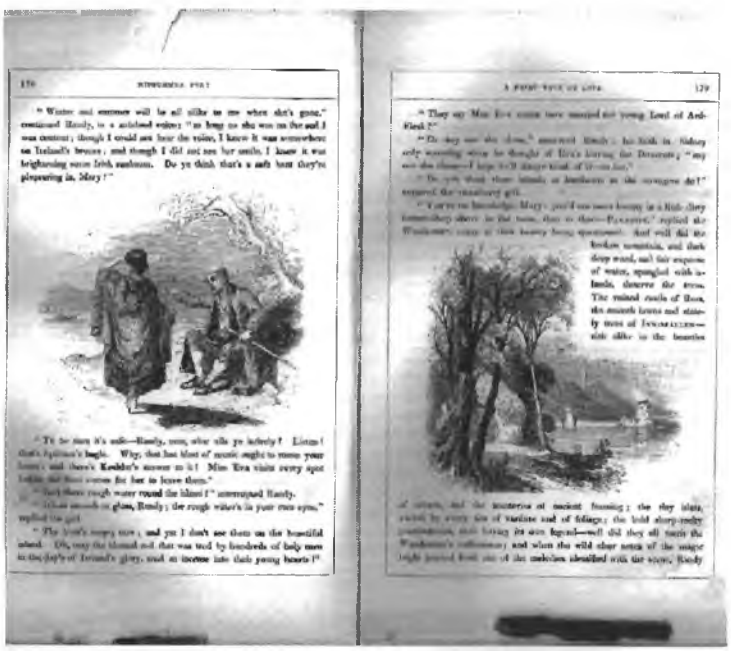


Fig. 2.24 Left. Integrated text and image with rule. Midsummer Eve (1848).
Fig. 2.25 Right. Title page for The Prince of the Fair Family with "stick" frame or border. (1867).

Notable examples of the *livre romantique* in Britain in the 1840s and 1850s included Thomas Moore's Irish Melodies, illustrated by Daniel Maclise in 1846, the 1849 edition of Moore's Lalla Rookh, Richard Doyle's illustrations to John Ruskin's The King of the Golden River published by Smith, Elder & Co. in 1851 and indeed Hablot Knight Browne's significant contribution to Charles Dickens's entire publications covering a period of over thirty years from 1830s-60s.

S. C. Hall was responsible for one of the most beautiful *livre romantique* illustrated books in the German style, The Book of British Ballads (1842) published by Jeremiah How. His working method in producing this title is discussed below and the same method was employed both for Ireland (1841-43) and Midsummer Eve (1848). S. C. Hall chose many up-and-coming artists rather than established illustrators to provide designs. This was entirely consistent with his heartfelt desire to showcase English and Irish artists, thereby providing a platform for further commissions for these artists. Joseph Noel Paton, Daniel Maclise and Richard Dadd took part but according to S. C. Hall, his "sheet anchor" in the project was John Franklin who illustrated the majority of the ballads.[96] Franklin's understanding of the overall design of the project gave him a central and unifying role.

S. C. Hall invited the artists to a series of "Evenings" at his house where they studied books and prints and he recited various ballads. Wood blocks were then distributed to the relevant artists whose style seemed to fit the sentiment of the ballad.[97] He claimed that:

> It is hardly necessary to say that I strove to make the evening gatherings agreeable to the artists. They met there on several occasions the authors who were heading the epoch, as well as those who have since become famous.[98]

He alluded also to the fact that "the greater number of these contributors working for no other reward than the gratification of aiding me in my undertaking."[99] For young artists it would of course have been an opportunity to showcase their own work and to network with other experienced artists. Apparently not all of the artists were able to participate in these evenings and

Richard Dadd's letter to S. C. Hall outlines some of the frustrations experienced by some artists:

> Dear Sir
>
> I have been waiting since I last saw you in expectation of receiving the Ballad and not having yet received it, I have been unable to commence anything; if you will let me have it tomorrow most likely I shall be bringing a design on the wood on Thursday night. Mr Jackson called me and has invited me to his place where he will do all in his power to enlighten Frith and myself on the subject of wood engraving. W. Frith is in the same 'stage' as myself about not having as yet done anything.
>
> I remain your obliged servant, Richard Dadd.[100]

Some of S. C. Hall's contemporaries were less than enthusiastic about his working methods and, most famously the printer of The Book of British Ballads, Henry Vizetelly (1820-94) practically accused him "with his Hibernian self-confidence" of exploiting the artists:

> Pushing young artists and ambitious art-manufacturers competed for words of praise from his pen. Those who made offerings of little studies in oil or water colour, or choice examples of ceramic ware, were pretty certain to be belauded.[101]

Vizetelly was not well disposed towards S. C. Hall so while there may be an element of truth in what he says, and S. C. Hall admitted that the artists were not paid, there is no evidence that he fell out with them over the drawings. It certainly did raise the profile of many of the artists involved, leading to more commissions.

The content of The Book of British Ballads lent itself to S. C. Hall's methods of production as individual artists took ownership of "their" poem and could choose the moments that encapsulated the spirit of the ballad for their illustrations. The same kind of approach was not feasible in the same way with a serialised novel like Midsummer Eve which took over a year to write and in narrative terms it took place over a period spanning over twenty years. It may have explained how some of the characters were portrayed by several artists

rather than maintaining a more consistent approach throughout, with one artist taking total responsibility for the depiction of a particular character. Likewise, the portrayal of locations differed depending on what artist interpreted the scene. Such a project was fraught with difficulties of this kind, leading to a less coherent final result. Therefore, while The Book of British Ballads was a commercial success in England and abroad, S. C. Hall's efforts to promote his wife's book Midsummer Eve along the same lines were unsuccessful and his enthusiasm for book production waned after its financial failure. The Halls apparently left the illustrations of any subsequent publications in the hands of individual publishers, relinquishing any central role in the artistic production.[102]

The impact of the serialisation of Hall's works is important to consider as visually, the effect of serialisation changed the appearance of her work and how it was read by the public. In The Art-Union alone, the following of her works were serialised: Midsummer Eve, Pilgrimages to English Shrines, The Book of the Thames and Excursions in South Wales. The serialised format was evidently particularly suited to her travel literature. As with other kinds of publications, older wood-engravings could be used if relevant, so that not all images had to be originals.

Fig. 2.26 Sample page layout in serialised "Midsummer Eve" The Art-Union (1847).

I will now look briefly at two examples of her serialised work, Midsummer Eve and "Can Wrong be Right?" to show how the illustrations differed in the serial version from the later book edition. Midsummer Eve, Hall's fairytale, appeared first in serial form in The Art-Union from January 1847 until May 1848. The

page layout differed dramatically from the book version (Figs. 2. 26 and 27). The crowded pages of The Art-Union reveal the difficulty faced with a page of this size. It appears cluttered with text spacing that is uneven and arbitrary.

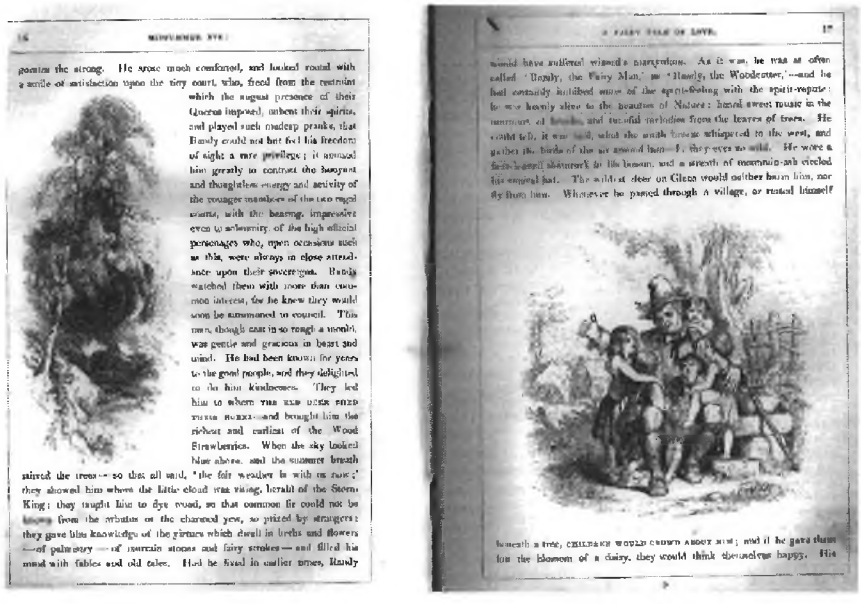


Fig. 2.27 Sample page layout Midsummer Eve with same content as 2.26 (1848).

The pages of the book have a more pleasing intimacy and the reader is not overwhelmed with the plethora of designs by different artists. Most, but not all of the illustrations used in The Art-Union were included in the book version but many new wood engravings were created including twelve new frontispieces for each of the chapters. Hall favoured the book version over the serial. In a letter to a Mrs Taggart who had been sent a copy of the book she writes:

> Before then you will receive and I hope accept with my best wishes my tale of Midsummer Eve in its improved form – I hope you have not read it, as it passed through The Art-Union Journal – I think serials destructive to the interest of the story.[103]

The serial format did not suit all writers as there was the additional pressure of immediate deadlines along with the loss of authorial control over the work as a whole. The advertisement for the book in The Art-Union in 1847 which was most likely penned by the editor, S. C. Hall, described how:

> Authors sustain serious disadvantages by publishing stories piecemeal; and it is therefore no wonder if they desire to see

> them collected, so that they may be read entire and with unbroken interest.[104]

He continued by describing it as "a labour of love" to the author and "so it has been to many of the artists by whom it has been illustrated". The book version included an additional sixty engravings – mostly head and tail pieces to several chapters and twelve large prints at the beginning of each chapter. This was to accentuate its suitability for the Christmas and New Year Gift-Book market.

The relationship between artists and author for a serialised publication could be fraught, depending on the demands of either. For example, Charles Dickens was in awe of the power of William Hogarth (1697-1764) and the popularity of his widely reproduced prints and he saw how the public drew messages from his art. For Dickens, therefore, the illustrations for his novels had to be an extension of the written text and he gave incredibly detailed instructions for the illustrator for his early works. He wrote for a newly literate public that did not easily imagine what it read and so found illustrations a valuable aid. In this respect, he, like the Halls, recognised the potential and power of illustrated texts. Dickens exploited the tradition of caricature and symbolism until in later years he was more relaxed about the role of illustration. Luckily he found a malleable and kindred soul in Hablot Browne who was prepared to work with Dickens. Browne was versatile and he was able to change styles according to whatever was new in Dickens's writing at the time so it was a most successful partnership.

Browne also provided etched plates for Hall's novel "Can Wrong Be Right?" This was serialised in the St. James's Magazine from 1861-62, (Figs. 2.28-33). Hall was editor of the St. James's Magazine during this period and she would have used her many literary connections both for her own purposes and in order to enrich the range of contributors to the magazine. The novel was subsequently published in two volumes by Hurst and Blackett in 1862 but the illustrated plates were not included. This begs the question as to why the illustrations were not used. It may well be the case that Hurst and Blackett decided not to include them and no correspondence on the topic has been located to date, but it may also have been the case that Hall and the

publishers may not have been satisfied with them. Browne's work in the 1860s was uneven and Dickens had shifted his allegiance to other artists. Compared to the lively and varied plates provided for Hall's The Juvenile Budget in 1840, his illustrations for "Can Wrong Be Right?" were rather dreary and repetitive with a preponderance of crinoline as he depicted the heroine Mildred Kennett at predictable moments. The author takes the reader on an intense psychological journey as we experience the anguish, the passion and the despair of the heroine, none of which is captured with any real conviction by the artist. For example, his depiction of the visit by the beautiful Miss Mansfield, Sir Oswald Harvey's betrothed, to Mildred's bower (Fig. 2.28), carries none of the menace of Miss Mansfield's "panther-like" cruelty. While the composition of the escape from the convent with Katarina in (Fig. 2.32) has certain dramatic energy with its contrast of light and shade, that of the nuns at the convent gates is excessively crowded and unimaginatively composed (Fig. 2.31). Browne's attempt to portray Mildred's attempted suicide by the river (Fig. 2.30) with the "frightful forms" seething in the river and the angel watching overhead simply does not work although it is a curious and unusual attempt for Browne who was not known for his portrayal of such supernatural subjects.

It is precisely this situation that Mitchell referred to when he developed his notion of ekphrastic fear. The verbal has been visualised but in a way that diluted the eloquence of the literary text. The artist has taken the text and attempted too literally to describe the events that have unfolded. John Harvey has raised the same issue. Text and illustration do not have to be one and the same:

> ...it is not necessary for them to merge as completely as they did... but, on the contrary, if they run parallel but distinct they can do more, they have more variety of attack. They should keep their own integrity within the large integrity.[105]

In her discussion of sensation novels later in the nineteenth century, Elizabeth Anderman concluded that literal illustration of sensation novels fails:

> It does so because the static image limits points of identification. Instead of overwhelming the reader with the intensity of the

erotic, emotional and physical responses to an image embedded in the text, actual illustrations allow for only one perspective on the visual object.[106]

Clockwise from top left
Fig. 2.28 "Mildred's Bower" by H. Browne.
Fig. 2.29 "Grandmother" by H. Browne.
Fig. 2.30 "Despair" by H. Browne.
Fig. 2.31 "At the Convent Gate" by H. Browne.
Fig. 2.32 "The Chance of Escape" by H. Browne.
Fig. 2.33 "The Surprise" by H. Browne.
All images from "Can Wrong Be Right?" in St. James Magazine 1861-62

Taken to its logical conclusion, the illustrator in such terms would face an impossible task, perceived as a static companion to an endlessly suggestive narrative. In the best examples, as in Daniel Maclise's illustration and Hall's tale accompanying his print of "The Irish Cabin" (Fig. 2.10), the ambiguity between the two, the dialectic between the writing and the illustration, created a greater whole. In Midsummer Eve, Hall's narrative was overwhelmed by the art. It was not one of her best novels. "Can Wrong Be Right?" was indeed one of her best novels, tighter, more controlled and more experimental than her earlier works but the illustrations have not matched her subtlety nor reflected the psychological drama and complexity of the heroine's emotional journey.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the extent of Hall's engagement with art was explored from a number of perspectives. I set out to examine the integral role it played in her life and how it was central to her factual and fictional writings. Most importantly, I assessed how ekphrastic hope and ekphrastic fear played out in a range of her works, some that were and some that were not illustrated. Did the illustrations strengthen her mimetic representations or was she actually better off without them? The answer to this question will be addressed in the overall conclusion, but this chapter raised a number of questions that will be teased out more fully in the course of the remaining chapters.

The introduction noted Hall's central concern with the morality of art, its relationship to nature and the responsibility of the artist and author to share the intensity of this experience with as wide an audience as possible. She was a populist, driven by her religious enthusiasm to demonstrate the power and truth of art which should be made accessible to all, especially the humbler classes who could benefit greatly. Through an exploration of her position at the heart of the art world, it was evident that she occupied a position of privilege thanks both to her own literary reputation and her husband's connections. Hall lived at a time of enormous change. Factors such as the role of the Royal Academy, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's extensive patronage of art, new

techniques in print reproduction and book design and the influence of German authors, philosophers and artists all contributed to her mindset.

The main section of this chapter dissected the complexity of the text/image relationship, drawing on a range of her literary works. Whether her texts were illustrated or not, Hall knew she had to be flexible. She was a talented ekphrastic writer, comfortable with her ability to visualise a scene, a portrait or an event, and she relished the unlimited freedom this presented. This skill was a necessary one when illustrations were prohibitively expensive and in short supply. Ironically, this chapter has demonstrated that illustrations often presented more difficulties for Hall than would be expected. Though she could write on demand to accompany a given print, it could also hamper her style and not all attempts were equally successful. Texts also had to be reworked in order to accommodate illustrations in later editions and with Midsummer Eve, there were simply too many different styles and interpretations of characters and places. Later in the Victorian era the "one artist-one author" approach to illustration became more commonplace. In this respect, her illustrated books could be seen as a case study, representative of the gradual move from multiple artists to a more homogenous style of book illustration. Artists did not always match expectations and although there is no evidence to date to show her disapproval of Browne's illustrations for "Can Wrong Be Right?" they were not used in the later novel version which could indicate possible dissatisfaction. Despite Hall's privileged position in the art world, her gender mitigated against closer professional relationships with artists, most of whom were male. Her necessary reliance on her husband meant she had less choice available to her than might be expected of a woman in her position.

By setting out the relationship between art and her texts at this point, it facilitates a more analytical approach to the chapters that follow. The wider contexts of the study have been outlined: the publisher's role; financial considerations and markets; and how Hall had to adapt and be responsive to change. Whether she was writing about Ireland, relating tales to a juvenile audience or engaging with women's issues, there were many potential

constraints. The next chapter examines Hall's portrayal of the Irish character, the extent to which she idealises or stereotypes her countrymen and women and how she understands her own role as an Anglo-Irish woman.

Notes

[1] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Can Wrong Be Right? A Tale," The St. James's Magazine 1 (1861): 14. It was published as a novel Can Wrong Be Right? A Tale by Hurst & Blackett in 1862.

[2] Mildred was the heroine of Hall's Can Wrong Be Right? Her skill and artistry with her embroidery threads ensured that she could earn a living when she had to support her child on her own.

[3] Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds., Art in Theory 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998) 143-146. In art practice, nature remained a standard but a radical scientific ethos emerged. Artists studied how natural effects were perceived and recorded and from the 1830s in Britain and France, artists and theoreticians produced tracts on colour and how to achieve colour effects. The invention of photography through experimentation with light was a defining moment at the intersection of art and science.

[4] Harrison, Art in Theory 101-107. These ideas were articulated by Carl Gustav Carus (1789-1869), an artist belonging to the later generation of German Romantics. In his Nine Letters on Landscape Painting he demonstrated how landscape painting did not just mirror nature but was itself the product of the human mind or spirit. The artist had a responsibility to observe and reflect the divine creativity.

[5] Sketches (1844) 347.

[6] Salvator Rosa (1615-73) was one such artist who was frequently alluded to by the Romantics for his wild and rugged landscapes and his predilection for scenes portraying haunted ruins, brooding brigands and melancholic scenes. Hall referred to Rosa on numerous occasions and her fellow countrywoman, Lady Morgan (1776-1859), wrote a biography of Rosa entitled The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa (1824).

[7] W. J. T. Mitchell, Picture Theory 151-177.

[8] John Dunning, On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old-Time Radio (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Bob Elliott (b1923) and Ray Goulding

(1922-90) were a well-known American comedy team who hosted radio and later, television shows. Their radio career spanned over four decades with their first show broadcast in 1946 and their final radio programme in 1987.

[9] W. J. T. Mitchell, Picture Theory 152.

[10] W. J. T. Mitchell, Picture Theory 154-155 and Krieger, "Appendix: 'Ekphrasis and the Still Movement of Poetry; or Laokoön Revisited,'" (1967) Ekphrasis (1992) 263–88.

[11] I do not use Mitchell's concept of ekphrastic indifference as it is not directly applicable to my discussion of Hall's work.

[12] Joyce Irene Whalley, and Tessa Rose Chester, A History of Children's Book Illustration (London: John Murray, 1988) 75. From 1855-75, Whalley and Chester noted that this was the "best ever for British book illustration." This was due to several factors: a healthy market for book illustration; an increase in demand for illustrated journals; the rise of the family market; improved techniques of reproduction; and competition to improve book manufacture and design.

[13] Mary Howitt, Mary Howitt: An autobiography, ed.Margaret Howitt, vol. 2 (London: Wm. Isbister, 1889) 102.

[14] Nathaniel Hawthorne, The English Notebooks, ed. Randall Stewart (London: Oxford University Press, 1941) 317.

[15] Chambers Archive, National Library of Scotland, Dep. 341/121.

[16] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 353.

[17] Anna Maria Hall, letter to Francis Bennock, 1 Dec. 1854, MsL H 174be, Iowa University Library. Quoted in Morris 105.

[18] Hall sent her book to many acquaintances in an attempt to encourage sales. This was one of several letters discovered, referring to receipt of Midsummer Eve. Another reference was in a letter from Hall to Mrs Taggart which is undated but likely to be from the spring of 1848 also. Anna Maria Hall, letter to Mrs Taggart, [c. 1848], Ms 17,064, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

[19] William Powell Frith, letter to Mrs Hall, 10 Apr. 1848, Michael Silverman, bookseller, web. 10 Sep. 2009. This painting has not been located

to date and was neither reproduced nor referred to in the recent publication, Mark Bills and Vivien Knight eds., William Powell Frith: Painting the Victorian Age (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

[20] The prices were annotated in the sale catalogue as follows: Venus Lamenting Adonis: £14.4s.6d, Sabrina: £63, Come unto these Yellow Sands: £26.5s and Titania Sleeping: £30.9s.

[21] In "Two Visits to Westminster Hall," The Art-Union Aug. (1843): 220, she referred to such acquaintances as Sir Martin Shee (1769-1850), an Irishman who was President of the Royal Academy from 1830-50, Daniel Maclise, and other notable artists such as Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859), Thomas Uwins (1782-1857), and William Etty (1787-1849). Her article "Memories of Pictures No VII: H. P. Briggs," The Art-Union Apr. (1844): 88, referred to a dinner she attended in the artist's house in Charles Street. Henry Perronet Briggs lived from 1791-1844.

[22] Hall evidently remained close to Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901) who had also dedicated his illustrations to Shakespeare's The Tempest to her. It was reviewed in The Art-Union Aug. (1845): 273. This was further proof of how S. C. Hall, as editor, continued to promote the efforts of contemporary artists.

[23] Browne's relationship with Dickens differed considerably from that with other authors such as Charles Lever (1806-72) or William Harrison Ainsworth (1805-82). These authors were quite happy to change their *textual* details to preserve consistency with Browne's etchings. Distance was of course a major factor when turn-around times were tight. Charles Lever was frequently resident in Brussels so this would have an obvious impact on the end result. Browne was also known as Phiz but he is referred to as "Browne" throughout this dissertation.

[24] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 361.

[25] Frederick William Fairholt, letter to Mr [Samuel Carter] Hall, n.d. MsL/1979/5116/43, National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. The letter may refer to a trip he made with Lord Landesborough to the South of France and Rome in 1856.

[26] Nicholl's drawings were used consistently in all three volumes of Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c. Volume 1 included a number of his drawings of the Cork and Kerry region, Volume 2 had over fifteen drawings of the Wexford area, many of them of locations dear to Hall, such as the ruins of Bannow Abbey and the castles at Johnstown and Bargy. Volume 3 included a large number of drawings by Nicholl of scenes in Northern Ireland, his home location.

[27] Mr and Mrs S. C. Hall, Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c., vol. 2 (London: Jeremiah How, 1842) 213-4. Hereafter this title is referred to as Ireland - including year, volume number and page number as follows: Ireland (1843), vol. 3 231.

[28] Martyn Anglesea, "Andrew Nicholl and his patrons in Ireland and Ceylon," Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review 71 (1982): 136-37.

[29] Matthew Arnold, The Function of Criticism at the Present Time (London: Macmillan, 1865) 1.

[30] John Constable, "From Last Lecture, Hampstead, 25 July 1836" (qtd. in Harrison Art in Theory 131-133.)

[31] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Moral of a Picture 2," The Art-Union May (1840): 69.

[32] Martin Meisel, Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial and Theatrical arts in Nineteenth-Century England (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 30.

[33] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Titian in his Studio," The Drawing-Room Table-Book (London: George Virtue, [1848?])108-109.

[34] Maria Tatar quoting Bourdieu, Enchanted Hunters: The Power of Stories in Childhood (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009) 19.

[35] Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986) 32-35.

[36] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Memories of Pictures III: Thomas Gainsborough R. A," The Art-Union May (1843): 111. The hero of Midsummer Eve, Sidney Herbert, toiled to produce a painting for the Royal Academy exhibition but it was ultimately rejected, as was Edward Gresham's painting of "The Unjust

Judge" in her story of the same name in The Art-Union May (1840): 69-71. Both artists were devastated, the shock of the disappointment after the feverish preparation, led to the untimely death of Gresham.

[37] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 384.

[38] Haskins, Diss. The University of Chicago, 2001. DAI-A 62/10, p. 3214, Apr 2002.

[39] The remaining featured artists included Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844), and the French artists Carle Vernet (1758-1835) and Paul Delaroche (1797-1856).

[40] The Halls were not the only people spreading the word about German art in England. Many other review journals such as The Athenaeum and The People's Journal reviewed and extolled German paintings and literature. Rudolf Ackermann (1764-1834), the bookseller who opened shop in London in 1785 was highly influential, providing affordable editions of works of German philosophers and writers for an English audience. The theories of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), August W. Schlegel (1767-1845) and Novalis (1772-1801) were widely available.

[41] Mrs S. C. Hall, "A Morning with Moritz Retzsch," The Art Journal Jan. (1851): 20-22.

[42] Anna Jameson, Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad (New York: Harpur & Brothers, 1834) 222.

[43] William Vaughan, German Romanticism and English Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979) 139.

[44] Frederick Bayley, editorial, The Illustrated London News 14 May 1842.

[45] Guinevere L. Griest, Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970) 4.

[46] John Harvey, Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators (New York: New York University Press, 1971). David Copperfield (1850) was the only Dickens 'novel' published in three volumes.

[47] She was also very busy working on many other projects at this time including her Stories of the Irish Peasantry (1840), Marian (1840), the children's compilation The Hartopp Jubilee (1840), The Book of Royalty: Characteristics of British Palaces (1839) and their three-volume Ireland (1841-43)

[48] According to her husband, Hall was very upset when someone sent her an anonymous caricature of her hero as "an old French drawing-master" and she could not be persuaded to continue with the novel. However, S. C. Hall mentions that she commenced the tale in 1845 which was incorrect. The chapters were included in January, February, March and May 1841. One of her articles in July 1839 was entitled "The Old Drawing Master, A Tale" which did include an account of her French drawing master, Monsieur Louis A. La Trobe, who tutored her as a child in Wexford. The anonymous caricaturist may have been referring to both in a derogatory fashion which "effectually paralyzed her hand." S. C. Hall, Retrospect, vol. 2 456.

[49] Mrs S. C. Hall, "A Sketch at Glengariff," The Art-Union Oct. (1840): 158-59. It was published the previous month as "Deaf and Dumb – A Mountain Sketch," The Irish Penny Journal 19 Sep. 1840: 94-95.

[50] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Two Pictures," The Art-Union Oct. (1839): 147-148. It was one of her shorter stories for The Art-Union at 1,900 words. The average length was 2,520.

[51] This quotation and the remaining ones from this story are all from page 148.

[52] There is no proof to date to indicate whether MacAvoy was a real or fictitious character. She may have been based on someone known to Hall but, equally likely, Hall may have embellished the tale with a mixture of fact and fiction.

[53] Mrs S. C. Hall, Uncle Horace vol. 1 (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey, 1837) 86.

[54] Lord William Russell (1639-83) was an English politician who was executed for treason as he opposed the succession of James II to Charles II.

During his trial, his wife, Lady Rachel Russell (1636-1723) stood firmly beside him and took notes for him during the proceedings.

[55] Uncle Horace (1838) vol. 1 19.

[56] Hall used paintings regularly like this to accentuate parallels with events taking place in her novels. Another example taken from "Can Wrong Be Right?" showed Sir Oswald Harvey comparing his wife Mildred to the Maid of Saragossa. "God bless you Mildred, perhaps one day I may become worthy of you; you have more heroism in your nature than that Maid of Saragossa of whom you spoke." The couple was staying in Rome and their host had just bought a painting of this subject which was portrayed by David Wilkie in 1828 and may have been the one Hall had in mind. Can Wrong Be Right vol. 1 117. (The references are taken from the novel version, hence the title is underlined.)

[57] Uncle Horace (1838) vol. 2 238-39.

[58] Leigh Hunt, letter to Mrs Hall, 21 Sep. 1848. Leigh Hunt Letters. Iowa Digital Library, University of Iowa Libraries. Web. 3 Mar. 2010.

[59] Leigh Hunt, letter to S. C. Hall, 29 Nov. 1848. Leigh Hunt Manuscripts. Ms/H94eg. University of Iowa Libraries. Web. 3 Mar. 2010.

[60] The publishers were turned down by several writers before Dickens accepted the commission but he argued that the text should be foremost. Seymour was not at all happy with this nor with Dickens's suggestions for changes to the illustrations. Seymour had a history of mental illness and committed suicide after the illustrations for the second monthly part were completed.

[61] Meisel, Realizations 32.

[62] Anne Renier, Friendship's Offering: An Essay on the Annuals and Gift Books of the 19th Century (London: Private Libraries Association, 1964) 12-13.

[63] This referred to the plate The Crucifixion by John Martin (1789-1854), engraved by Henry Le Keux (1787-1868) and reproduced in The Amulet for 1830. A discussion about the quality of the plates in The Amulet was included

in The Spirit and Manners of the Age (1829) 802, where the editor defends the cost:

> ... it is not many years since the houses of the middling classes throughout the country, were decorated only with paltry coloured prints; the "courtship" and "matrimony" of ancient times have, however, vanished, and over their mantel-pieces you will now very frequently see engravings from the choicest works of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Leslie, Turner, Martin, &c. A better taste has thus been created.

[64] Rev. of The Amulet (1830), Edinburgh Literary Journal 17 Oct. 1829: 276.

[65] Abraham Cooper R. A. (1787-1868) was known as a painter of sporting scenes, especially of horses and dogs.

[66] Rev. of The Gem; a Literary Annual, ed. Thomas Hood. The Spirit and Manners of the Age. (1828) 698.

[67] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Holyday Time," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (London: N. Hailes, 1830) 201.

[68] It has not been reproduced elsewhere to my knowledge. Sources checked include Thomas Crofton Croker's Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland (1825), Francis Mahony's The Reliques of Father Prout (1836), John Barrow's A Tour round Ireland (1836), Nancy Weston's Daniel Maclise (2001), John Turpin's article "Maclise as a book illustrator" (1985) and Peter Murray's Daniel Maclise 1806-1870: Romancing the Past (2008). Neither the Crawford Gallery, Cork nor the National Gallery of Ireland had further information.

[69] Mary Elizabeth Leighton, and Lisa Surridge, "The Plot Thickens: Toward a Narratological Analysis of Illustrated Serial Fiction in the 1860s," Victorian Studies 51:1 (2008): 66-67. Images can also be "analeptic," referring back to scenes, "repetitive" where different scenes were shown but with similar elements, or "extradiegetic" where they could represent scenes not actually appearing in the verbal text.

[70] Gunter Gebauer, "The Between-Character of Mimesis (Derrida)," Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 294-307.

[71] Hall was aged thirty at this point and had been living in London for fifteen years.

[72] The Pattern was a festival held annually in villages in Ireland from the Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century. It was often associated with feast days or harvest celebrations and could be held near holy wells or lakes. Dancing, music, drinking and fights were all part of the day. Hall mentions them in several of her stories.

[73] Susan B. Egenolf, The Art of Political Fiction in Hamilton, Edgeworth and Owenson, (Farnham: Ashgate 2009) 1-3.

[74] Roderick McGillis, "Children's Literature comes of Age: Towards a New Aesthetic," The Lion and the Unicorn 22.1 (1998) 116. Applying the formalist terms of the Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin to the study of children's literature, Nikolajeva applied the chronotope, or the narrative's use of time and space, to particular genres.

[75] Happy endings were not necessarily the norm for Hall and spiritual maturity is not always realised. In many of her tales, at least one protagonist experiences a downward trajectory due to the inability to deal with inherent character flaws.

[76] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Irish Cabin," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830) 160.

[77] "The Irish Cabin" 163.

[78] Richard Sha, "Keeping them out of Harm's Way: Sketching, Female Accomplishments and the Shaping of Gender in Britain," The Visual and the Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). Chapter 2 of Sha's book discusses sketching as a drawing-room accomplishment for ladies from the mid-eighteenth century, along with needlework, music and dancing. Such accomplishments were necessary to compete in the middle and upper-class marriage market.

[79] "The Irish Cabin" 162.

[80] The Introduction to The Drawing-Room Table-Book stated that "The engravings have been selected from the best of a large number of similar works at the command of the Publisher."

[81] "Titian in his Studio" 108.

[82] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Unjust Judge," The Art-Union May (1840): 69. The old lady narrating this tale to Hall acknowledged that there were "faults in colouring; but the moral was so true."

[83] "Titian in his Studio" 109.

[84] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Two Visits to Westminster Hall," The Art-Union Aug. (1843): 220.

[85] "Titian in his Studio" 109.

[86] The fact that the engraving does not refer to the exact painting of "Christ casting the money-changers forth from the Temple" that brought about James Hackett's conversion is immaterial. Hall confesses to not remembering the artist's name but she describes it closely and states "I remember it well, for I saw it often – afterwards." "Titian in his Studio" 114.

[87] Leitch Ritchie, Ireland, Picturesque and Romantic vol. 1(London: Longman, 1837) 65. Ritchie laments the loss of the Irish harp – not even the national musical instrument has escaped the degradation of the country which has now dwindled to the size of the Jew's Harp.

[88] Sketches (1844) [275].

[89] Sketches (1844) [351].

[90] Sketches (1844) 352.

[91] In the early 1820s and into the 1830s steel-engravings were the preferred option as wood-engravings had little advantage in terms of cost. In addition, with the average illustrated publication limited to a frontispiece plate and one or two other plates, taste favoured steel-engravings which were deemed to be the superior kind. However from the 1840s onwards, the publishers felt the pressure to satisfy the huge demand for images on the part of the reading public. The fact that wood-engravings could be printed in

conjunction with the text in large runs was highly significant. Therefore there could be no other way to produce lavishly illustrated books without eschewing the costly and slower steel-engravings in favour of wood.

[92] Sketches (1844) 268.

[93] Mrs S. C. Hall, Introduction, Stories of the Flowers by Gertrude P. Dyer (London: Virtue, 1877) iii.

[94] The spelling of "Cozy" varies. In the St. James's Magazine it is spelled with a "z" but the book adopts the "s". I replicate it as found.

[95] John Buchanan-Brown, Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany 1820-1860 (London: British Library, 2005) 105-8 and 244. Works that were referred to and admired by British artists and the British reading public included publications such as Gil Blas by Alain René Lesage, illustrated by Jean Gigoux and published by Chez Paulin in 1835, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie published by Léon Curmer in 1838 and the 1840 edition of the Nibelungenlied published by Georg and Otto Wigand in Leipzig, widely acknowledged as one of the finest ever German Romantic books.

[96] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 332.

[97] William Bell Scott, Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott, ed. William Minto, vol. 1(n.p.: James R. Osgood, 1892) 108.

[98] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 332.

[99] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 331.

[100] Richard Dadd, letter to Samuel Carter Hall, [c. 1842], MsL/1976/3167, National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

[101] Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back Through Seventy Years, vol.1 (London: Kegan Paul, 1893) 304-305.

[102] The Prince of the Fair Family, similar in theme to Midsummer Eve was likewise a *livre romantique* but was a more modest production with fewer artists involved and fewer specially designed engravings. Most of the landscape scenes, according to the list of illustrations were "repetitions from Mr and Mrs S. C. Hall's descriptions of Tenby in South Wales – where the

scene of the story is laid – from drawings by E. M. Wimperis and W. S. Coleman."

[103] Anna Maria Hall, letter to Mrs Taggart, [c.1848], Ms 17,064, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

[104] The Art-Union Dec. (1847): 407.

[105] Harvey, Victorian Novelists 2.

[106] Elizabeth Quainton Anderman, "Visible Sensations: Ekphrasis and Illustration in Victorian Sensation Novels," Diss. University of Colorado, Boulder, 2006. DAI-A 67/10, Apr 2007.

Chapter 3

"Taken from the life." Mimesis and Mimicry in Hall's Portraits of the Irish

> Allow me, then, to introduce you to the village of Bannow, and to the dwellers therein. I have endeavoured to describe them in the following Sketches; and I trust you will kindly and patiently look them over. They are drawn by a most inexperienced hand; but I have the hope, in which every young artist may be suffered to indulge – of having produced a striking outline, because the model is NATURE! In truth, they have been 'taken from the life;' and I have narrowly and frequently examined every original before I have ventured to give the portrait.[1]

Introduction

This quotation from Hall's dedication to Mary Mitford in the introduction to the first edition of her Sketches of Irish Character in 1829 encapsulates her ekphrastic mode of writing, which outlined how the concept of mimesis lay at the core of her literary endeavours. The careful examination of the "original" was vital to ensure an authentic portrait. Her mission, as stated in a later edition, was "to picture the Irish character, as to make it more justly appreciated, more rightly estimated, and more respected, in England." [2] However, she also hoped that by drawing attention to the errors and faults of her countrymen and women that she might be of some assistance in "inducing a removal of them."[3] Hall was at pains to avoid stereotypical views of the Irish that were rampant amongst English readers.

> Would it not have been cruel to condemn Larry for Barney's faults, merely because they were of the same family? And how much worse to condemn an entire nation, because a few we have met have been not exactly what we admired.[4]

The historian James Newcomer acknowledged some limits in Hall's depictions of the Irish and admitted that she "lays open the Irish weaknesses and shortcomings for all her readers to see." However, despite her frank portraits, she always invited the English reader to "temper his animosity and assuage his ignorance."[5] This eagerness on Hall's part to reveal both the

negative and the positive aspects of the Irish character is central to this chapter. While Hall insisted that nature was the model for her portraits, there is ample evidence to show that she defined her Irish characters by their "difference" to English norms and that behind her zeal to improve the lives of her countrymen and women was a deep desire to make them imitate and adopt the infinitely better ways of their English neighbours.

In this chapter, mimesis is assessed from a post-colonial perspective. Hall's accounts of the Irish are akin to that of Edward Said's Orientalist who interprets the "exteriority," or the surface values of the Orient, rendering the mysteries of the Orient plain for, and to the West, purely from the Orientalist's point of view.[6] The principal product of this "exteriority" is representation, according to Said: "representations *as representations*, not as "natural" depictions of the Orient."[7] He qualifies this by stating that representations referred not just to the "so-called" truthful texts such as histories (Hall's Ireland and aspects of her Sketches could qualify) but also in what Said refers to as the avowedly artistic or imaginative text (Hall's novels such as Midsummer Eve). How the "other" is represented in the author's style, figures of speech, setting or narrative devices amount to a *re-presence* (his emphasis) not necessarily expressing the truth of the *real thing* (his emphasis). Walter Benjamin, in his explanation of the anthropological significance of mimesis, showed how the mimetic faculty "leads us to perceive similarities and invent correspondences with surrounding nature."[8] These similarities can relate to processes where an individual imitates the actions of others such as in dance or language. Searching for, and creating such similarities is a defining characteristic of the individual's relationship with the world. Humans give linguistic expression to what they see in nature. However in the colonial situation "man [sic] splits into the named (who is rendered mute like a thing of nature) and the namer (who, in 'overnaming' his Other, displaces the Other's languages by his own).[9]

The varied ways in which Hall speaks for the Irish peasant, giving voice not necessarily as the Irish peasant would wish to be rendered, is highlighted in this chapter. Hall may express the desire that the Irish "mimic" the English but Homi Bhabha has demonstrated the elusive nature of colonial mimicry, which

he believed was predicated on ambivalence: "in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference."[10] Hall's efforts to make the Irish mimic the English constantly engages with the resistance of the Irish towards colonial dominance. The added complication of Hall's relationship with Ireland is revealed in Ingman's assessment:

> Her narrative voice veers uncertainly between defending and explaining the Irish to the English reader and speaking as an Englishwoman who believes that English virtues can transform Irish life.[11]

Hall's constant plea to convince her readers of the truth of her portraits, that she uses nature as her only model, is stated frequently in her Irish writings. However, her interpretation of truth and nature will be shown to be precisely that, her own subjective "re-presentation" to quote Said's term. These considerations regarding truth, nature, representations and mimicry will inform the discussion in this chapter.

Following an introduction to her early writing career and her successful adoption of the sketch as a preferred format, I discuss a selection of authors who influenced her Irish writings. This provides a context for the development of her style and her preferred format, and demonstrates how her work echoed the thematic concerns of fellow writers of the period. The chapter continues with an overview of Hall's interest in phrenology and physiognomy and how this may have encouraged her to depict her Irish characters in a negative manner. The association of Erskine Nicol with her work is highlighted in this context, followed by a discussion on her readiness to submit seemingly unflattering portraits of Irish characters to the Irish periodical press. Hall's fluctuating relationship with her Anglo-Irish identity, as revealed in her literary output, is then examined. The final section explores how illustrations accompanying her work can be shown to support, subvert or interpret her texts. Drawing chiefly on Ireland (1841-43), Sketches (1844) and Midsummer Eve (1848), I have analysed some key areas: her views on the Irish cabin; her idealised portrayal of Irish womanhood; and her fondness for the Irish begger/storyteller or "gaberlunzie" as she referred to them. This structure provides the reader with the means to assess the

development of her attitudes and views through practical examples in a range of her illustrated texts.

To recap on the extent of her Irish writings, already referred to in Chapter 1, the tales that made Hall's reputation and that highlighted her as an important commentator on Ireland were her Sketches of Irish Character published in 1829 followed by a second series published in 1831.[12] Ireland and the Irish remained central to her writings throughout her life however. Lights and Shadows of Irish Life was published in three volumes in 1838 and Stories of the Irish Peasantry in 1840. Ireland also featured in many of her novels: The Whiteboy (1845); Midsummer Eve (1848); and The Fight of Faith (1869) were set for the most part in Ireland. Other novels such as The Outlaw (1835), Marian (1840) and A Woman's Story (1857) had central Irish characters, though set chiefly in England. Novellas such as Nelly Nowlan (1863) related the Irish emigrant's tale as a lively epistolary and children's books such as The Hartopp Jubilee (1840), Grandmamma's Pockets (1848), and The Swan's Egg (1851) had important Irish characters. Bannow and the wider Wexford area was the preferred location for the majority of her Irish stories, with Killarney an accurate and finely-drawn setting for Midsummer Eve, and Cork and Kerry for her major Irish novel The Whiteboy. Her regular travels around Ireland with S. C. Hall compiling information for Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c. (1841-43) provided her with further opportunities to expand on her repertoire of stories from every county of Ireland.

Hall's Early Writings and Her Use of the "Sketch"

Hall's earliest writings were a series of Irish sketches, stemming largely from an oral storytelling tradition and although she wrote nine novels, three plays and numerous travel books, the bulk of her writing consisted of literary sketches, much of it destined for periodicals. Many of the individual sketches reappeared in different editions as publishers frequently included them in suitable anthologies.[13] According to S. C. Hall's Retrospect, it all began with a conversation she was having with him about one of the characters she remembered from her days in Bannow. He encouraged her to write it just as

she had said it, thus starting her off on her literary career.[14] Her fondness for the characters that peopled her early childhood in Wexford, coupled with her facility with language and an ability to capture a turn of phrase, meant that her Sketches proved immediately popular. As a child, she had listened to her coachman and storyteller, Old Frank, who time and again told her the fairy and folk stories that were to influence so many of her works. Her memory was prodigious and her recall of her life in Wexford was to provide much material for her stories. According to her husband:

> Her memory was marvellous. When I first visited, with her, her native Bannow in 1825, there was hardly a stick or stone, and certainly not a person, she did not recognise... She was ever silently observant; taking mental notes of all that was said and each thing that was done, whether at a stately reception or in the cabin of the humblest peasant. Nothing, however trivial, escaped her notice. Happily her nature – generous, considerate, and sympathising nature – enabled her to transmute the baser metals into gold.[15]

In addition to the tales she heard from her servants and local peasants in Wexford, her grandmother had a store of tales from her Swiss/French background and these likewise were woven into Hall's wider output. As with the Irish peasantry, she was drawn to the poor people of the Savoy region of the Alps rather than the urban wealthy. It was this class of people that evoked her sympathy and amongst them she experienced the humanity that prompted her many tales, especially those with a didactic purpose.[16]

> I have been told, somewhat reproachfully, that I write only of the humbler classes – that my sketches are of peasants and their cabins – and that I neglect altogether the Irish gentry. I can but urge in excuse, that it is only among such we must look for original character ... The gentry of Ireland differ little, if at all, from that of England.[17]

The Anglo-Irish of her own class failed to excite her and they resembled too closely the upper middle-classes amongst her acquaintance in London. The

pursuit of the "exotic" and her search for original "character" drew her towards the Irish peasant. Hall's relationship with the peasants however, was one of subtle domination, akin to that outlined by Edward Said in Orientalism.[18] She chose to speak for the Irish peasants, to present them to her own class, telling her readers in what way her portraits were "typically Irish." Her focus on the Irish peasant was also part of what she felt was the wider philanthropic duty of a woman of her class towards the needy in society. As a writer, she could highlight the plight of the poor, thus bringing about social change and awareness. In her sketch entitled "Poor Dummy," she recorded how the "annals of the poor who clustered around 'the big house' have sunk more deeply into my heart than the records of the great or the follies of the gay."[19] Although Hall's intentions were admirable and she genuinely sought to assist the Irish, she also contributed to their disempowerment, silencing and manipulating their voices for her own purposes. Despite her patronising ways, her sketches launched her career in Ireland and in England.

The sketch was a familiar format during the early nineteenth-century and Hall returned to it repeatedly throughout her writing career. The word "sketch" appeared in many publications of this time such as Washington Irving's The Sketch Book (1820), Sketches and Fragments by Lady Blessington (1822) and Our Village: Sketches of Rural Characters and Scenery by Mary Russell Mitford. The looseness or flexibility in the structure of the sketch has been examined by Richard Sha in his account of The Visual and the Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism (1998) where he argued that the sketch in art and literature was seen to be less finished in the classical sense but was in fact more truthful because it captured the essence of the character or the scenery.[20] The Romantics viewed the sketch as a fleeting first impression, non-judgmental but aesthetically more powerful and closer to the truth. In his third chapter on "Feminising the Visual and Verbal Sketch," Sha argued that the unfinished nature of the sketch meant that, for women, it had less pretension to gravitas and was thus attractive for women artists and writers who often had to preface their writings with a "veil of self-effacement." Sketching was assumed to be one of woman's amateur accomplishments and it was not seen as a threat which

would detract from her primary duties towards her husband and household. For all of those reasons, the sketch therefore was the perfect vehicle to showcase Hall's spontaneity and her search for truth and propriety.

Many commentators have attempted to distinguish between the sketch and the short story. Brander Matthews in 1901 suggested that the sketch was akin to still-life, whereas in the short story something always happens.[21] This does not work for Hall as her sketches were full of lively incident. Nevertheless, her ekphrastic writing and frequent glosses gave her the opportunity to take time out from her tale to give objects or scenes the detailed attention associated with a still-life account. Georges Denis Zimmerman remarked on the difficulty in differentiating between accounts by antiquaries, travellers and folklorists and those by writers of fiction. He referred to the "indefiniteness of the perhaps semifictional 'sketch'" and he demonstrated how real and imagined elements could coexist in the same text.[22] This is certainly applicable to Hall who always heralded the authenticity of her setting and characters yet was gently chided by Maria Edgeworth for falsely introducing imaginary and thus "misleading" elements to her sketches. Hall's response to Edgeworth was that "to mingle the ideal with the real was not only permissible but laudable as a means of impressing truth." [23] In an early review of Hall's Sketches, the commentator provides a key to contemporary perceptions of the term, expressed in an ekphrastic manner:

> It is seldom that modesty occasions the misnomer of a book; it has done so, however, in the present case. By far the greater number of the pieces in the two volumes before us are not sketches; they have the finish of cabinet pictures, and yet the freshness, and freedom, and force of less laboured detail.[24]

The early nineteenth century was often seen as a crucial period in the history and development of the short story as an art form. The American writers Washington Irving (1783-1859), Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Edgar Allen Poe (1809-49) were influential in this respect. Tim Killick has commented that Irving expressed views of British culture as a visiting writer from America that helped to "shape the conception of the literary sketch, a prominent sub-genre in the

early part of the century."[25] Killick also discussed Irving's use of the first-person narrative and the informality of his tone which had the easy intimacy of a letter writer, all devices favoured equally by Hall. Heather Ingman refers, like Zimmerman, to the instability of the sketch, "veering between travelogue and morality tale" in the writings of Hall and Edgeworth.[26] She also provides a comprehensive account of when commentators saw the emergence of the first Irish short story.[27] Seamus Deane and Benedict Kiely credit William Carleton as an early practitioner of the form. Other commentators such as Frank O'Connor, Deborah Averill and Patrick Rafroidi saw the short story as emerging towards the end of the nineteenth century in the work of George Moore (1852-1933), Edith Somerville(1858-1949) and Martin Ross (1862-1915). Hall's sketches were a distinct form of short fiction and like Carleton's stories they represent an important phase in the development of the Irish short story. Hall was influenced by a number of authors who wrote short didactic fiction and these authors are the subject of the next part of this chapter.

Influential Authors

This section examines aspects of the work of five authors to explore how they may have influenced Hall's literary concerns and her thematic preoccupations: Mary Russell Mitford (1778-1855); Hannah More; Elizabeth Hamilton (1758-1816); Mary Leadbetter (1758-1826); and Maria Edgeworth. Hall dedicated the first series of her Sketches to Mary Mitford. Mitford had written sketches entitled "Our Village", ten years earlier for Lady's Magazine. She became a celebrity and people flocked to visit the village of Three Mile Cross in Berkshire, the setting of her tale. Our Village was subsequently published in five volumes between 1824-32.[28] Mitford's skill was in depicting the day-to-day life of her village and the characters that peopled the areas. Out of the accumulated anecdotes, the reader could build up a picture of the lives and the issues affecting the inhabitants of this area in Berkshire.

In her Introduction, addressed to Miss Mitford, Hall tells her that Bannow will be the setting for her own sketches but she warns her of falling into "one of two opposite errors – expecting either too little or too much."

> You are not to behold the people and their dwellings, like those in your own "sunny Berkshire," surrounded by all the blessings that independent feelings and well-regulated minds can only give; but if you look for filthy cabins and a miserable peasantry, alike strangers to industry and contentment, you will be equally mistaken.[29]

Hall saw Bannow as being an exceptionally favourable specimen of an Irish village. Her idyllic description of the fertile fields of Bannow led her to comment that the landscape "formed a picture as calmly beautiful as even fruitful and merry England could supply."[30] Hall was very proud of Bannow, above all with its residents, and acknowledged Mitford as a master storyteller of the kind of rural life she herself wished to portray. She painted a very convincing picture of life in Bannow. As in Mitford's work, the reader meets many of the same characters in various stories. For example, the Roman Catholic priest, Father Mike, appears in a number of tales apart from the one which bears his own name, such as "Captain Andy," "Old Frank," "The Bannow Postman," and "Jack the Shrimp." The extensive Corish Family make an appearance in "Kelly the Piper," "Captain Andy," and "The Bannow Postman". This cross-referencing of characters coupled with Hall's vivid descriptions of the area enable the reader to visualise such local landmarks as the mountain of Forth, Johnstown Castle, the Saltee Islands and the Tower of Hook. They are referred to with the same frequency and affection as her favourite characters and this specificity is one of the strengths of her narrative style.

Hall's tales were no mere replicas however of Mitford's approach. Maureen Keane comments that in Mitford's tales, very little happens and violence is almost non-existent, unlike in Hall's sketches where violent incidents certainly do occur.[31] Such episodes as the murder of Dora Hay's cousin Brian in "Father Mike," the vile exploits of the informer "Black Dennis" and the horror of the burning barn in Scullabogue in "Captain Andy," undoubtedly added to the popularity and drama of her exciting tales. Incidents like these could be interpreted as Hall conforming to the reader's expectations of the violence endemic in Irish daily life but, as a storyteller, such dramatic events were vital to

her plots and were based in many cases on actual events. Hall was not averse to melodrama but she was never coarse nor gave explicit details of outrages as did some of her Irish contemporaries. Claire Connolly, in her discussion of Gerald Griffin and John and Michael Banim, links their very masculine fictions of rebellion with their interest in recent history such as the 1798 rebellion and the rise of the national tale.[32] Nonetheless, Hall's family was directly affected by the events of 1798 in Wexford and she referred to aspects of the rebellion and its aftermath regularly in her sketches.[33] She was also acutely aware of the potentially volatile nature of the political situation in Ireland and how quickly a situation could deteriorate at the hands of the mob.[34]

Keane also argues that while Mitford had no didactic agenda, Hall explicitly states her mission from the outset – to correct the false views of Ireland and to encourage the Irish to modify their behaviour. This didactic strand in Hall's Irish work emanated from a number of other sources. She knew Hannah More personally[35] and was likely to be familiar with both Elizabeth Hamilton's The Cottagers of Glenburnie (1808); and Mary Leadbetter's Cottage Dialogues Among the Irish Peasantry (1811). Hall greatly admired the literary achievements of Maria Edgeworth, to whom she dedicated the second series of Sketches in 1831. The next section explores how these four writers influenced the development of her didacticism.

Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts were enormously influential when they appeared from 1795-98. At least two million copies were distributed by 1795 alone. Her target audience was the semi-literate lower classes and the aim was to improve their religious convictions and personal consciences. As with her participation in the Sunday School movement, much of the ethos behind this development was the conservative message to reduce the possibility of revolution amongst the lower orders.[36] A distinctly anti-radical, anti-revolutionary message pervaded what Mitzi Myers called her "socialising literatures."[37] Middle-class readers such as Hall would have read her tracts as children, so More's public was wider than initially intended. Her evangelical message, about how the individual faces a personal struggle within, her belief

that stories could change public attitudes and the impeccable ethical stance of the authorial voice all emerged later in Hall's work.

Hall can be compared to Elizabeth Hamilton in her zeal to reform the slovenly ways of peasants through industry and education. Mrs Mason, the fictional heroine of her best known novel, The Cottagers of Glenburnie, visited her cousins in Glenburnie where she was horrified by the filthy conditions that awaited her. There are remarkable parallels between this work and Hall's Sketches which would indicate Hall's knowledge of this earlier work. Mrs Mason's disgust at the cottagers' dunghills, laziness and apathy: "We cou'dna be fashed" (bothered),[38] has echoes of Hall's impatience with the constant refrain "We'll See About It" which was also the title of one of her Sketches . However, despite unflattering descriptions of the cottagers and their dirty ways, Hamilton, like Hall, portrays the cottagers as generous, welcoming and hospitable. Her tales are humorous but, like Hall, invariably at the expense of the lower classes. Hamilton sought to shame them out of their inertia in an effort to promote industrious behaviour. She was not interested in the romanticised pastoral notion of the rural poor and had an ambivalent relationship with Robert Burns's idealisation of the Scottish peasant. Susan B. Egenolf describes Hamilton's preference for a more realistic portrayal of the Scottish people.[39]

Whereas most of Hamilton's work was written as a third-person narrative, Hall had a preference for the first person, adding her own personal acquaintance with the character or area at the beginning of the story as a framing narrative and further evidence of its verisimilitude. Keane remains suspect about such a device, seeing it as more of a distraction and leading, on the contrary, to the reader doubting the authenticity of her tale due to her overuse of such an approach. The fact that Hall's sketches were not popular with the Irish people that she knew, however, would lead one to suspect that she may have known the individual characters portrayed, who ultimately felt betrayed by her excessively honest and frequently unflattering portraits.[40] Hall's Sketches were addressed to an English audience primarily and whilst she hoped they would be made available to peasants who could learn how to remedy faults, it was not until her Stories of the Irish Peasantry (1839-40) that

Hall actively attempted to utilise her landlord connections to make her tales more widely available to the peasants. Hamilton's work was initially envisaged as a tract along the lines of Hannah More's publications, with similar circulation patterns. Like Hamilton, Hall was convinced that her writings could bring about real social change. Yet, although the fictional heroine of The Cottagers of Glenburnie would see the village transformed at the end of the book, thanks to her intervention, such a happy outcome was not possible in the Irish context. Hall argued that Ireland's saving was in the hands of the landlord class whereas Hamilton saw this class as being insensible to the needs of the poor. What was needed was someone of Mrs Mason's type - educated, middle class and pragmatic.

Mary Leadbetter was the daughter of a Quaker schoolmaster and she hoped that her stories could help bring about improvements in the lives of the poor. Her book consisted of fifty-four short dialogues, chiefly between the Irish peasants, Rose and Nancy, and their husbands Jem and Tim. Rose was careful, modest and diligent, the binary opposite to her friend. Nancy put off mending her clothes, spent money foolishly, neglected to give her children the injection against smallpox and omitted to clear out her pipe which set fire to the big house. Her idleness, whiskey-drinking and gambling did not augur well for the future and misfortunes invariably came her way, leading to her own death not long after the deaths of her son and husband. The brevity and simplicity of the tales was reminiscent of educational primers written for newly literate children and young adults, the latter her most likely target audience. They were cautionary tales in that the diligent thrived and the careless suffered the consequences of their thoughtless ways. Maria Edgeworth provided a glossary to enable English readers to understand the dialect in Leadbetter's tales and the Edgeworth family were generous subscribers to the publication.[41] Leadbetter's influences on Hall could be seen in her advocacy of the virtues of hard work, thrift and sobriety, recurrent themes in Hall's many tales. Hamilton's missionary impulses and Leadbetter's morality dialogues can therefore be considered as forerunners to Hall's entertaining sketches several decades later.

Hall was inevitably compared with her contemporaries, sometimes in a more favourable light and at other times with greater reserve. Keane quotes from The Edinburgh Literary Journal which was pleased to find that Hall's work rejected the formal approach to instruction found in "Leadbetter's' [sic] *Dialogues*, and even in Miss Edgeworth's writings."[42] Elsewhere the Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature described Hall as follows:

> Her humour is not so broad or racy as that of Lady Morgan, nor her observations so exact and extensive as Miss Edgeworth's: her writings are also unequal, but in general they constitute easy delightful reading, and possess a simple truth and purity of sentiment.[43]

Maria Edgeworth was an important influence on many aspects of Hall's work. Hall corresponded regularly with her, she and her husband visited the Edgeworths at Edgeworthstown, and Hall subsequently described this visit in an article in The Art-Journal.[44] Edgeworth was impressed with her early sketches and the fact that the second series of Hall's Sketches of Irish Character was dedicated to "Miss Edgeworth" was testament to the strength of Hall's friendship and homage. According to her husband, when Hall sent Edgeworth a copy of her first sketches, "she received in reply a thorough analysis of the book, a note upon each and all of the stories with very warm praise of the whole."[45] Hall's view that Ireland was best served by a benevolent Anglo-Irish ruling class who would direct the peasants fairly, live in Ireland on their estates and manage the land for the peasants, stemmed largely from Edgeworth's influence. As in Edgeworth's Castle Rackrent and The Absentee (1812), the dissolute lives of careless landlords, the loss of fortunes through mismanagement, and the ruinous consequences of absenteeism were captured time and again in many of Hall's sketches such as "The Last of the Line," "Hospitality," "The Curse of Property," and "Independence." Hall was attracted to Thady Quirke-like figures, though her characters were less complex versions of the multi-layered narrator of Castle Rackrent. Hall revealed a repressed fear for this unquantifiable type of character who represented excessive difference and otherness. Behind the surface containment within her texts, there is sense of incomprehension on

Hall's part. Homi Bhabha sees this reaction as part of the double-sided nature of mimicry, a "threat to both 'normalised' knowledges and disciplinary powers."[46]

Castle Rackrent is often acknowledged as the first Irish regional novel. Tim Killick has analysed the growth of regional narratives at the beginning of the nineteenth century especially in the aftermath of Walter Scott's Waverley (1814) and how it impacted on Scottish writers of short fiction. He saw the national tales favoured by Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan[47] with "their corresponding anxieties about identity and nationhood" shift towards the more "masculine discourse" of the historical novel.[48] While Hall certainly experimented with some critical success with the historical novel with "The Buccaneer" (1832),"The Outlaw" (1835) and "The Fight of Faith" (1869) she was in the literary vanguard with her regional sketches set in Bannow.

With regard to her portrayal of the Irish peasantry, Hall, like Edgeworth advocated the preservation of the status quo politically and was keen to present realistic and authentic images of Irish life whilst entertaining her readers. All of these didactic authors, Hall included, urged the peasantry to make a conscious effort to be independent despite their limited means. Susan B. Egenolf described how Hamilton's work showed that "industry and cleanliness can ultimately reform a nation."[49] Charitable organisations were more likely to look favourably upon those deserving poor who mended their clothes and staved off the appearance of extreme degradation. This cheerful obedience and acceptance of one's place in life by the peasantry was an ideological undercurrent running through the writings of More, Hamilton, Leadbetter, Edgeworth and Hall. These attitudes will now be developed further in an exploration of Hall's interest in how physical traits could be seen to determine characteristics, not only of individuals, but of groups of people. Inevitably this led to the portrayal of negative stereotypes.

Phrenology, Physiognomy and Negative Stereotypes

This section focuses on Hall's interest in phrenology and physiognomy and how it may have contributed to a deepening of her prejudices. As a respected author and editor, she took an active interest in current affairs, popular science and the

topics of the day that were discussed in her own and other literary circles. Her long involvement with Spiritualism was one example of this which is explored in Chapter 4. Another was the contemporary interest in the potential of phrenology and physiognomy to indicate personality traits based on physical attributes which, in turn, facilitated easy assumptions about national characteristics. Scientists and philosophers in the early nineteenth century sought to categorise essential features of diverse nations in addition to the reality of their historical and political situation. Joseph Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) has been associated with this branch of ethnology which evolved through Georg Wilhelm Hegel's writings (1770-1831) into the notion of *Volksgeist*, where cultural traits were seen to emerge from a combination of ancestral factors, distinct language and customs, and physical environment.[50] Two of Hall's best-known books, her Sketches and Ireland, show her preoccupation with analysing traits peculiar to a people. By highlighting "character" as a central concern, her study enabled her to come to certain conclusions about the Irish peasantry. Her mission then became a didactic one, how to urge the Irish peasantry to remedy their faults or their flawed characteristics through clear guidance from their benevolent English superiors. The following section shows how Hall's interest both in phrenology and physiognomy was reflected in her writings, colouring her perception of others, particularly those outside her own immediate social class and caste.

Phrenology was immensely popular from the 1820s-50s and although it always had its detractors, it was taken seriously by many practitioners.[51] Initiated by the German physician, Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), it was a popular science where people "read" heads, ascribing bumps or protuberances of the skull and jaw as being indicative of certain traits.[52] The author George Eliot (1819-80) was fascinated by the topic and, like Hall it was an important factor in her work.[53] Gall called it "organology" and it was T. I. M. Forster, an Englishman, who came up with the term "phrenology" in 1819. Societies sprang up throughout the British Isles, including one in Dublin in the early 1830s and the study of phrenology occupied many column inches.[54]

Hall was interested in the concept and refers to it repeatedly in her stories and novels throughout her career. In one novel, A Woman's Story (1857) for example, she incorporates it in a variety of contexts. Florence's father, Mr Middleton talks about the local English lower classes, and, comparing their heads with "the beautiful development of his wife's head" remarks "I dare say, we should find that it is their phrenology that is in fault; there is some depression of that particular organ, we must not blame them for that, you know."[55] The heroine of the tale, the writer Helen Lyndsey muses on the veracity or otherwise of the science:

> "Well, I have the bump, I suppose; but perhaps you are not read in the noble science of phrenology; I can only tell you, that if I had believed it (which I did not), their German chief should never have told over my predispositions – and their penalties.[56]

Inevitably, such views led to an insidious tendency to judge races and people by appearance. The Swedish ethnologist, Anders Adolf Retzius (1796-1860) attempted to distinguish between races by comparing dolichocephalics (longheads) with brachycephalics (roundheads) and the facial angle of the jaw was seen as significant.[57] The Irish, the African and the lower classes were grouped together with their perceived low brows and prognathous or protruding jaws versus the orthognathous (less prominent) jaws of the (invariably English) upper classes. Images of the simian Celt or the "white Negro" proliferated in caricatures of the Irish in the English press from the 1860s, especially after the rise of the Fenian movement in the 1860s. As L. Perry Curtis Jr. has shown in Apes and Angels (1971), the harmless whiskey-drinking Pat evolved into the more menacing ape-like, militant Paddy as the century progressed and images of racial inferiority increased.

However, this argument by Curtis that the Victorians had an inherently racist view of the Irish has been debated by many scholars including Sheridan Gilley and Roy Foster.[58] Gilley argued that the English perceived the Irish positively as well as negatively and that the stereotypes that prevailed were more national than racial. The fundamental flaws of the Irish, such as their drunkenness and their violence were caricatured as much, if not more, than

their racial inferiority. Roy Foster developed this strand of the debate by showing that caricatures in magazines such as Punch could be directed equally at the English working classes and that class, religion and political context were more important than racial considerations. A typical Punch cartoon of "The Irish Frankenstein" (Fig. 3.1) was created by Kenny Meadows, an artist who provided many fairy illustrations for Hall's two full length fairy novels. (Fig. 3.2) shows a rather unflattering image of Nurse Kitty Kelly by Meadows from Midsummer Eve, with features not very far removed from those of her monstrous cousin. Foster also argued that Hibernia was always portrayed as pure and classical in prints and engravings, no different from her sister Brittania, so it was not a simple one-dimensional argument.

Fig. 3.1 "The Irish Frankenstein" by Kenny Meadows. Punch July-Dec (1843).
Fig. 3.2 "Nurse Kitty Kelly" by Kenny Meadows. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Aspects of this debate are important when considering how Hall's writings reflected contemporary attitudes towards the Irish. She never omitted to acknowledge the warmth, friendliness and loyalty of the Irish but she was so driven in her zeal to help and transform the Irish peasantry that she had a set of stereotypes that she was unable to eliminate throughout her writing career. Not

only were the Irish peasants of a lower class, they seemed, in some of her descriptions, more animal than human. When she described the loyal Irish manservant, Jerry Keg, in "The Curse of Property," he was dehumanised as follows:

> Jerry entered, his high shoulders propping his ears – his head projecting like that of a tortoise, his hands folded behind his back, his old fashioned richly laced livery splayed out on either side like the fins of a flat fish.[59]

The effect of Charles Darwin's On the Origin of the Species (1859) later in the century was to draw ever closer analogies between hierarchies and definitions of what it meant to be human or "animal." Ania Loomba commented on the ease in which nationalities could be typecast, such as in references to the "mild Hindoo," the "warlike Zulu," or the "barbarous Turk." These stereotypes where the group is made into something "other" could then be used by the coloniser to determine strategies for their control.[60]

The next section demonstrates how Hall, using one example from her physiognomical observations, used her association of red hair and Irishness to stereotypical effect, both for male and female characters. The following quotation from "Larry Moore" in Sketches is pertinent:

> His bushy, reddish hair persists in obstinately pushing its way out of every hole in his extraordinary hat, or clusters strangely over his Herculean shoulders, and a low-furrowed brow, very unpromising to the eye of the phrenologist.[61]

As in her interest in phrenology, there were aspects of physiognomy that Hall identified as being peculiarly Irish, in addition to those recurring traits such as idleness, carelessness, cunning and slovenliness. Anticipating John Beddoe's findings later in the century, she focused on red hair as being quintessentially Irish or Scottish but never English. It was particularly negative when she referred to Irish men such as the lazy Larry Moore or Mr O'Brien, the unpleasant Irish agent or middleman in "Kate Connor". O'Brien was a deceitful Irishman, of a type regularly highlighted by Hall, known for making money at the expense of both the landlord and his tenants:

> We hired a carriage in Dublin, and, just on the verge of papa's estate saw Mr O'Brien, his hands in his pockets, his fuzzy red hair sticking out all round his dandy hat, like a burning furze-bush, and his vulgar, ugly face as dirty as if it had not been washed for a month. [62]

Poor old Jerry Swift in A Woman's Story, who, judging by the story must have been at least in his early 60s and should therefore have been sporting a few grey hairs, is described as: "touching his hat that he always wore in a sailor-like fashion at the back of his head, while his red hair matted around it."[63] Not only do these characters have red hair but Hall combines it with notions of dirt, the matted quality of the uncontrollable hair, vulgarity and ugliness.

Hall's Irish heroines also had to deal with the disadvantage of being endowed with red hair. As they grew in maturity and wisdom to become more like their English cousins, Hall lessened the impact of the infliction. Annie Leslie's mother was Scottish, her father English and she had Welsh grandparents so she was described at the beginning of the story, set in her home town of Bannow, thus:

> Ill-natured people said she had a red Scottish head, which I declare to be an absolute story. The maiden's hair was *not* red; it was a bright chestnut, and glowing as a sunbeam. Perhaps in particular lights it *might* have had a tinge – but, nonsense! It was anything but red.[64]

On the following page, Hall continued: "Her figure was, unfortunately, of the Principality, being somewhat of the shortest; but her fair skin and small delicate mouth told of English descent." Likewise, Millicent O'Brien, the gauche and vulgar Irish schoolgirl in Chronicles of a Schoolroom (1830) flowered, with the right cultivation and English guidance, into a beauty:

> "O' Mrs Ashburton! – do you not know your own Millicent?" What a change! The red hair had mellowed into a deep auburn, and hung in rich clusters around a face beaming with intellect and affection... the mouth certainly was extensive – I must confess

> that – but who ever thought of the size, while listening to the sweet-toned voice.[65]

Not only were the Irish burdened with flaws in their character such as laziness, procrastination and slovenliness but they had distinctive physical characteristics that were not so easy to eradicate. Millicent's hair may have ripened into a more acceptable hue but her mouth remained too large, courtesy of her heritage. Keane describes how Hall wrote differently about peasant women and those higher up in Irish society.[66] Gertrude Raymond in "Hospitality" who was "born of a noble but decayed family" was portrayed in a more dignified manner than a laughing blue-eyed gypsy such as Anty McQueen in "The Bannow Postman." Anty was "somewhat short, and without one good feature in her face; yet the gipsy was esteemed pretty."[67] The telltale signs for those orphaned or abandoned babies who eventually found out that they were of noble birth such as Marian Peronett in Marian or May Clarey in "Kelly the Piper" were predictable. They were distinguished by their pallor, gravitas and delicacy. May "was very different from the peasant children; not so fond of play, and always sweetly serious."[68]

The artist who has been identified over the years with the more stereotypical aspect of Hall's stories is Erskine Nicol. Ironically, his paintings were used to illustrate Hall's Tales of Irish Life and Character in 1909 which was in fact a posthumous publication for both author and artist. Sixteen colour reproductions from his paintings were included in the book, most with only tenuous links to the stories.[69] There is no indication to date that the Halls met Nicol at any stage on their travels although he provided one illustration for Hall's Boons and Blessings: Stories and Sketches to Illustrate the Advantages of Temperance (1875).[70] Erskine Nicol was born in Leith in Scotland in 1825 and he spent four years in Ireland from 1846 where he found employment as a teacher and portrait painter and he painted many genre scenes of the Irish working classes. At that time, his portrayal of stereotypical and churlish country types conformed to popular taste.[71] The paintings by Nicol used to illustrate Hall's tales were typical of his wider oeuvre and a sample is reproduced in (Figs. 3.3-3.6). The illustrations overall included several cabin interiors, young

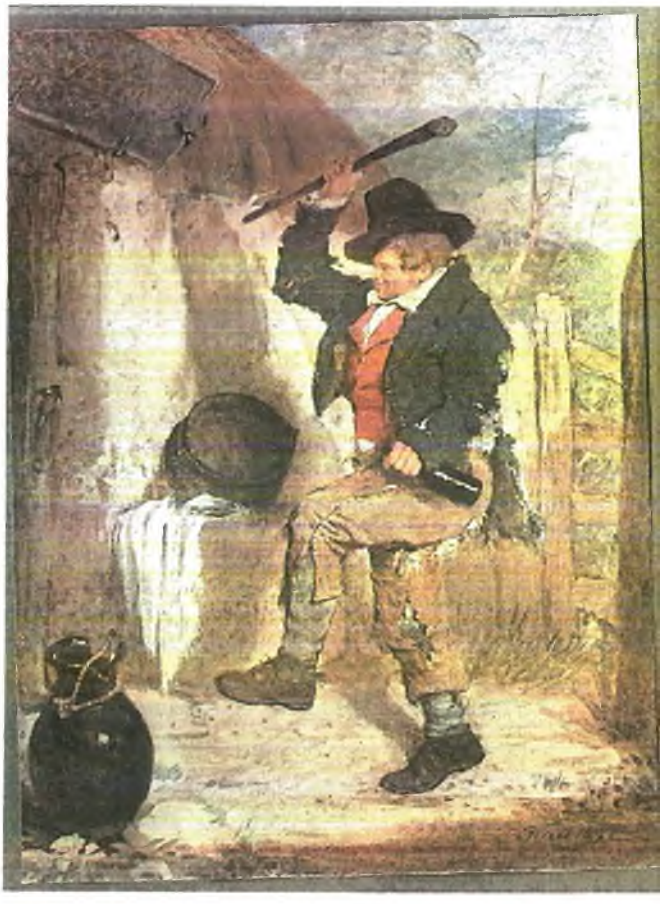
women being wooed by ne'er-do-wells, scenes of gypsies and fairs, card games and meal times, several tragic-comic landlord commentaries and a preponderance of Nicol's stock Irish male. The latter is invariably portrayed with his frock coat, breeches and felt hat with his heavy brow and protruding chin, dancing with his bottle and shillelagh, trying in vain to sew his ragged clothes or generally acting the buffoon. Of the images used, the only one that could match with any degree of appropriateness, the tale it accompanied was the image entitled Praties and Point used for "Kelly the Piper." The image was most probably selected for this story as the opening sequence depicts the slovenly Kelly family preparing for their meal of 'pratees' with Mrs Kelly who:

> wiped the aforesaid table with the corner of her "praskeen," and, from another corner, lifted the kish, that served to wash, strain, and "dish" the potatoes, feed the pig, or rock the child, as occasion might require.[72]

Claudia Kinmonth in her study of Irish Rural Interiors in Art (2006) regularly acknowledged the contribution made by Hall and Nicol, in their separate spheres, to the study of Irish material culture of the period. As Kinmonth argues, genre paintings of the nineteenth century have been neglected by art historians and Nicol's eye for detail in his meticulous depictions of cabin interiors have helped our understanding of regional and vernacular furniture, customs and even ways of eating. Kinmonth described for example the ritual of pointing each potato longingly at the bacon flitches curing in the rafters (Fig. 3.5). At a time when meat may only have been consumed by peasants on a couple of important festival occasions in the year, the poignancy yet humour of the action was conveyed by the artist. As Hall's sketch "Kelly the Piper" centred on the excitement of the forthcoming Pattern Day, the appropriateness is underlined.

Brendan Rooney described the complexity of Nicol's perception of the Irish character, which I would argue, parallels aspects of Hall's position in relation to the Irish.[73] Nicol was very happy in Ireland and, like many visitors, was attracted to the ways and customs of the Irish peasantry. Somewhat unfairly he was berated for not always demonstrating the abject poverty and hardships of the Irish people. Nicol did indeed create a number of powerful

paintings of Ireland, his best known being The Evicted Family (1853) which avoided racial stereotype in its focus on the drama and emotion of the pathetic scene.



(Clockwise from top left, all from Tales of Irish Life and Character (1909)
Fig. 3.3 "Listenin to Raisin"(Frontispiece).
Fig. 3.4 "Bright Prospect" (Lilly O'Brien).

Fig. 3.5 "Praties and Point" (Kelly the Piper)
Fig. 3.6 "Inconveniences of a Single Life" (Moyna Brady)

However, Irish and English artists and writers had to walk a fine line between portraying reality without criticising the prevailing government which could affect their potential sales. Fintan Cullen asserted that although Nicol's Paddy pre-dates by a decade or more John Tenniel's famous Irish ruffian with his simian features, Nicol "rarely fails to impose a degree of ridicule on his Irish peasants."[74] The patronising nature of Nicol's images of bewildered Paddies in compromising settings proved to be a winning formula with the British public.[75] Other commentators referred to the humour, the satire and indeed the theatricality of Nicol's scenes[76] which suited the tone of many of Hall's stories. Her reputation as a dramatist was well established early in her literary career.[77] Hall generally eulogised Irish women but was frequently impatient with the endless procrastination and perceived laziness of the Irish male. She was also very careful to point out on regular occasions that she took no sides politically.[78] The safest and most lucrative market at mid-century was therefore the stage-Irish scene which both Hall and Nicol utilised for different reasons. Hall was attempting to improve the lot of the Irish peasant which she felt could be achieved by her sketches and she also earnestly wanted to encourage English people to come to Ireland to enjoy the "difference" and originality of the people.

Hall admitted that she often employed Irish characters to lift her spirits and to brighten the mood in her novels when required. In A Woman's Story, she introduced several new Irish characters somewhat unnecessarily and unexpectedly towards the end of the novel but she qualified this as follows:

> My story has been far too much a 'wail': I know it – I feel it – but I cannot avoid it – and I may be forgiven, therefore, for reverting to those remembrances of Irish fervency, affection and devoted zeal in heart-service, as among those with which I would fain lighten the shadows that press heavily upon me every now and then, as I think and write.[79]

Just as classical drama needed its lighter interludes to provide pace and variety from the primary action, Hall used Irish characters, in this case to remind her of the depth of affection she associated with the Irish peasants. However, as in other examples discussed already, she appeared to laugh at their expense to

entertain her English readers. Her attitudes therefore towards the Irish were not homogenous but complex.

Her unpredictability can also be seen in her reaction to an illustration to one of her sketches in which the effect was not quite as she expected. How different commentators approached text and image varied widely, depending on the sympathy of the commentator and their particular perspective. An example of this can be shown by the different responses to Daniel Maclise's vignette for "Kelly the Piper" (Fig. 3.7). Maclise depicted the Pattern tent with its large gathering of people watching the activities, a young dancer putting on her shoes and refreshments being poured by a jolly woman at the entrance to the tent, beside a soldier and a cheerful beggar.

Fig. 3.7 "The 'Pattern' Tent" by Daniel Maclise. Sketches (1844).

Nancy Weston described how Maclise's illustration was a far cry from Hall's "appalling" description of Kelly the Piper and that Maclise avoided any racial stereotyping in his image. She viewed Maclise as softening Hall's negative stereotypes with a scene of "wholesome rural celebration."[80] However, though Hall's description of Kelly and his family is not particularly positive and the family are portrayed by her as slovenly and careless, they emerge as heroes at the end. It is thanks to Kelly the Piper's intervention that the young orphan May is reunited with her real family. Ironically, Hall subtly hints that Maclise may not have captured the idealised Bannow maidens she had in mind:

> If my accomplished countryman, Mr. Maclise, met in the County of Wexford the subject he has so admirably pictured, and which stands at the head of this story, it must have been at Taghmon –

> Taghmon, cheerless, boisterous, and dirty, even in these days of temperance and whitewash. Well might Kelly the Piper say that, "though the Taghmon girls were the dickens at the single and double fling, they hadn't a taste of the Bannow modesty."[81]

Maclise's illustration apparently did not match Hall's expectations on this occasion as the girls lacked the dignity and decorum she cultivated for her Bannow heroines in her sketches.

While Hall was sensitive to the artist's interpretation of the Pattern which accompanied her story, she appeared to be curiously immune to the potential effect of some of the sketches that she chose for the Irish periodical market. The fact that she was unselfconscious about choosing to reproduce such stories as "We'll See About It" or "Larry Moore" indicated that she simply did not realise how offensive her remarks could be. In "Larry Moore" reproduced in The Dublin Penny Journal, her opening remark, "'Think of Tomorrow! - that is what no Irish peasant ever did yet, with a view to providing for it" provoked a footnoted response from the Editor as follows:

> We cannot concur in these remarks of our fair and talented country-woman. That there are many such characters to be found in Ireland as the Bannow boatman we are ready to admit, but we will by no means allow that such is the character of our peasantry *generally* – Ed![82]

The Editor's remark may have had some effect on Hall, or her later editors, as "no Irish peasant" was changed to "few Irish peasants" in the 1844 illustrated edition of Sketches. It might have been assumed that she would have contributed more moderate tales from her extensive repertoire for her resident Irish audience, but, if anything, she included those that would be less palatable to the local reader, most likely in her zeal to reform those very flaws she chose to highlight. A similar philosophy lay behind her desire to work with the Irish gentry who could help disseminate her Stories of the Irish Peasantry (1840) by distributing them "among the cabins of their Tenants and Dependents."[83]

The tendency to view the Irish as generalised stereotypes meant that the characters rarely progressed outside their limited context and range. In her

series on The Irish in England, the first story "The Washerwoman," which appeared in The Irish Penny Journal in 1840[84] showed how entrenched Hall's opinions were. She compared the Irish washerwoman to the English laundress:

> The actual labour necessary at the wash-tub is far better performed by the Irish than the English; but the order, neatness and exactness required in "the getting up" is better accomplished by the English than the Irish. This is perfectly consistent with the national character of both countries.

In other words, the Irish were capable of the brute labour involved in the initial toil but the starching and the finer details required the input of the orderly English laundress.

It was surprising that she persisted in her opinions despite knowing that what she wrote could cause offence. She referred to it for example in "Annie Leslie" when the heroine's English-born father makes a generalisation about the Irish to Alick the Traveller: "'The misfortune of all Irishmen is, that they answer one question by asking another.' Alick replied: 'I don't like ye to be taking the country down after that fashion, Mister Leslie; it's bad manners and I can't see any misfortune about it.'"[85] It is not the only occasion where the author permits an Irish character to defend him or herself against the stereotypical jibe, demonstrating one of those "good" characteristics of the peasant, loyalty to his or her country. It was proof not only of her pragmatism but also of Hall's divided loyalties and ambivalence towards her Anglo-Irish identity, the focus of the next section of this chapter.

Hall's Anglo-Irish Identity

With ever increasing numbers of Irish in London and the fact that most of the Irish who emigrated to the metropolis were of the servant class, Hall constantly fought to enlighten her readers to the fact that she, an Irishwoman and a well known author, belonged to a class not discernibly different from its equivalent in Britain. Being Irish did not have to equate with the commonly held stereotypes. This issue was raised in her sketch for children entitled "The Irish Cabin" in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830) where the theme addressed national prejudices.

When the child, Jemima Rayworth expressed surprise that her friend Florence Clanricard was Irish, Jemima was astonished, saying: "But you do not speak broad – or eat potatoes – or tell beads when you pray, like an Irish girl." Florence immediately replied: "And you do not say *weal* and *winegar*, *hegg* and *hoats* like a cockney, although you were born in London."[86] The class element of the discussion is pronounced. Irish peasants and working class Londoners shared the lowest rungs of society and their dialect was a giveaway. Hall, like Florence in the story, was Irish but behaved normally, that is, like any other British subject of her class.

Nelly Nowlan, one of Hall's most spirited emigrants, travelled as a maid with her employers to Bath and to London and was horrified when asked to perform as a wild Irish beggarwoman for the charity event organised by the Honourable Mrs James at Cranley Hurst. The latter dressed Nelly in faux ragged clothes, stuck shamrock over her ear and commanded her: "You must talk Irish unceasingly, it will prove the extensive charity we propose – that we mean to take in *even the Irish.*"[87] Hall, through Nelly, shows how well she understood how the Irish tired of the patronising English view of the Irish peasant, and like her heroine, refused to pander to the vogue for a superficial Irishness:

> Oh, how my blood boiled; and I up and told her, that it was true the English now and again did a great deal for Ireland, and very good it was of them, for no doubt the Irish were a mighty troublesome people; and indeed it was hard to think how any people could sit down quiet and cheerful that had only potatoes to eat, and rags to cover them. But if the English were good to them, they were always telling them of it, and they never gave their gratitude time to grow...[88]

The other alternative to explaining patiently the errors of national prejudices was to comprehensively deny one's Irish roots. Hall experiments with this option on occasion, such as with the formidable Mrs Brevet in A Woman's Story:

> Mrs Brevet had been born in Ireland – a circumstance she concealed with extraordinary precautions, and truly if her tongue had not betrayed her, she might have led most persons to believe she had never breathed the air of the Emerald Isle, for she took up every prejudice against the unfortunate country with the determination of the zealot.[89]

While Hall may have been tempted at times to turn her back on her country due to frustration with the many flaws that she associated with the Irish peasant, she never lost sight of her own didactic zeal, to help the Irish peasant improve his situation through "imitating" the behaviour of his English counterparts. The immediacy of her role in this process was captured by the artists, J. C. Timbrell and John Franklin in two illustrations from Sketches. Both images show the narrator of the story, the author herself, playing a central role, which involved attempting to reason with Philip Garraty in "We'll See About It" (Fig. 3.8) and Larry Moore, the Bannow Boatman in "Larry Moore" (Fig. 3.9). Both of these anti-heroes happily and indolently pass their days, caring not for tasks that needed attention. Philip's socks require darning and his shoes were full of holes but as he says: "if they do let the water in, [they] let it out again."[90] His house needs to be repaired as does his pig-sty and he loses a major contract for his yield of wheat, all because of his endless procrastination. The same fate awaits Larry Moore who puts off tasks for too long, losing business in the process.

What is of interest in this context is the role of the author in highlighting the outcome of these flaws. In "Larry Moore" she is portrayed as a combination of benevolent schoolmistress/maternal figure gently correcting an errant child. She has the superior pose, the advantage over the "man-porpoise" as she describes him, indolently stretched out on his mermaid's stone - "the tide, bad cess to it! was apt to come fast in upon a body, and there was a dale of throuble in moving ..."[91] Her neat, well-dressed appearance in both images contrasts in every way with those of the charming, good natured yet infuriatingly lazy men.

Fig. 3.8 "Philip Loitering at the Gate" by J. C. Timbrell. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 3.9 "Larry Lounging on the Shore" by J. Franklin. Sketches (1844).

These images capture the moral supremacy yet the reasonableness of her approach - the gentle persuasion which it is hoped will have the desired effect on others who read her stories, recognise their flaws through the clarity of her tale and act upon it. As with her children's books, she attempted always to amuse as well as instruct.

A review of her novel The Whiteboy (1845) in The Athenaeum captured the extent of her didactic skill:

> She is, after all, but a national teacher; since while her lips are ever busy to inculcate the common-sense and clear view of practical duty which Miss Edgeworth was the first to hold up to the Lantys and Rackrents of the dear country – her heart inclines towards that romantic devotion of high spirit to picturesque enterprise, which was the life-breath of all Lady Morgan's Irish novels. Be she a good schoolmistress or not, on the present occasion Mrs Hall is attractive as a romancer and sound as a moralist.[92]

While some of the illustrations to her Irish works have already been discussed in this chapter, the next section focuses on three specific areas to investigate in more detail the dynamic between her texts and how they were represented by a variety of artists.

Illustrating Hall's Irish Publications

The final section takes into account the discussion thus far in this chapter and focuses on the role illustrations played in elucidating Hall's texts. Firstly, the three publications under discussion: Ireland; Sketches and Midsummer Eve, served somewhat different functions. In an ad in The Art-Union for Ireland in 1840, the blurb stated that their aim was to "induce intimacy between two countries whose interests are mutual and inseparable."[93] While the authors were keen to provide facts and statistics, to recount legends and customs, it was not in their interest to portray the country in a very negative light. This would have been counter-productive to their overall aim.

Fig. 3.10 "Connemara" by William Evans. Ireland (1843) vol. 3.

However, an advertisement to the first volume maintained that "Their great object is to promote the welfare of Ireland – but not by a sacrifice of truth."[94] There was a deliberate avoidance of illustrations depicting abject squalor and extremes of poverty as such images could have had a lasting effect on the reader. (Fig. 3.10) shows a particularly pleasing combination of image and text in the style of the *livre romantique* discussed in Chapter 2. A panorama of peasant activities depicts the picturesque and rather idealised setting of Connemara in the west of Ireland.

Hall's Sketches provided scope for illustration of a different kind to that of a travel book. Rather than an excess of romantic landscapes and antiquarian details, this publication highlighted the dramatic potential of each tale or provided a visual portrait of some of her distinctive Bannow residents. The format for each tale was to provide an opening and closing vignette featuring key moments. The initial vignette generally set the scene or illustrated a dramatic moment from the sketch and the closing vignette either savoured the

moral or reflected on the dénouement of the tale. This can be demonstrated in "The Last in the Line" (Fig. 3.11) which captured the moment when Denny Dacey, the scheming bailiff gained a financial hold over Sir John Clavis who was an absentee landlord for a time and the tragic ending when Sir John is killed in a duel is shown at the close of the sketch (Fig. 3.12).

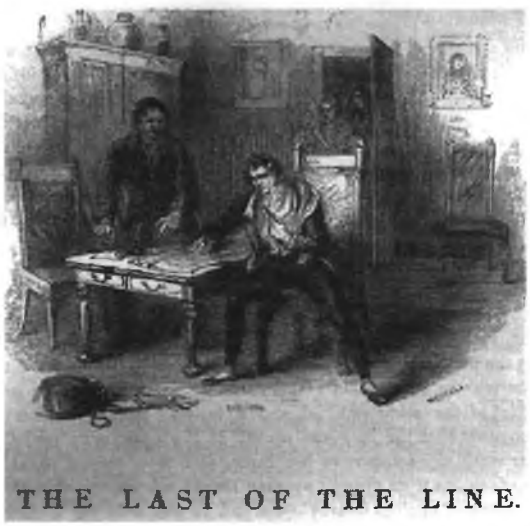


Fig. 3.11 "Clavis signing the Deed" by C. H. Weigall. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 3.12 "The Duel" by C. H. Weigall. Sketches (1844).

In many cases there was an attempt made to have the same artist provide both vignettes for the one sketch, as demonstrated here. This gave more continuity and coherence to the sketch. However, as in other areas of illustration at this period, stock wood engravings were used or the publisher called on the expertise of a specialist illustrator such as the antiquarian William Henry Brooke (1772-1860) to illustrate many of the specific place names mentioned. For example, the Castle of Coolhull in "The Bannow Postman," the old Bannow Church in "Father Mike" or the Temple at Graige in "Old Frank" are some of the many illustrations from Brooke's pen.[95] The third book, Midsummer Eve, was a fairytale aimed at the gift book and family market. Although it is studied in some detail in Chapter 4, it is relevant to the current discussion due to its illustrations and its Irish setting.

In Volume 3 of Ireland, the Halls urge artists to visit Ireland to experience the grandeur and sublimity and they refer to the peasant as a "valuable accessory" to the picturesque landscape.

> Perhaps no country of the world is so rich in materials for the PAINTER; nowhere can he find more admirable subjects for his pencil, whether he studies the immense varieties of nature, or human character as infinitely varied.[96]

To emphasise the importance of this ekphrastic manner of visualising Ireland, they reproduced an extensive essay from The Art-Union written by F. W. Fairholt who accompanied the Halls on their tour. Fairholt reiterated the vision of the "savage grandeur," the "magnificent clouds ... which claim for Ireland the pre-eminence in cloud scenery" and above all the picturesque inhabitants.

> The girls in their deep red petticoats and jackets, with their healthy cheeks and richly-clustered hair... confined beneath the ample hood or capacious mantle... upon which a load is frequently poised, adding an "antique grace" and dignity to figures that seem to realise Homeric times. At least, they may be said to be the "finest peasantry in the world" *for the painter*; a more fortunate admixture of bright colours is seldom to be met with than they display upon themselves. A red petticoat, with a deep blue body and yellow handkerchief, aids the more sober scenery of the country not a little, and is of much value in landscapes where green and grey alternately abound.[97]

In addition to promoting Ireland in such glowingly romantic terms, the Irish peasant was objectified and seen in formal terms as a colourful accessory in his or her own landscape. The Halls created a vision of Ireland that was enticing and alluring from an artist's perspective. Not everything was painted in such a rose-tinted manner, however, and, as their stated aim was to be "truthful," the following section examines how they dealt with a less savoury spectacle, that of the Irish cabin.

Images of Ireland: The Irish Cabin

Ina Ferris in The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland referred to the Irish cabin as a cliché since the late eighteenth century: "Surrounded by a dung-hill on the outside and many sexes and species within, it was generally read as a site of primitive undifferentiation and excess."[98] Many early visitors to the Irish countryside expressed their astonishment that such hovels could yield so many healthy and robust children, despite the odds. They were also surprised at the inhabitants' readiness to share quarters with the ubiquitous pig and other farm animals.

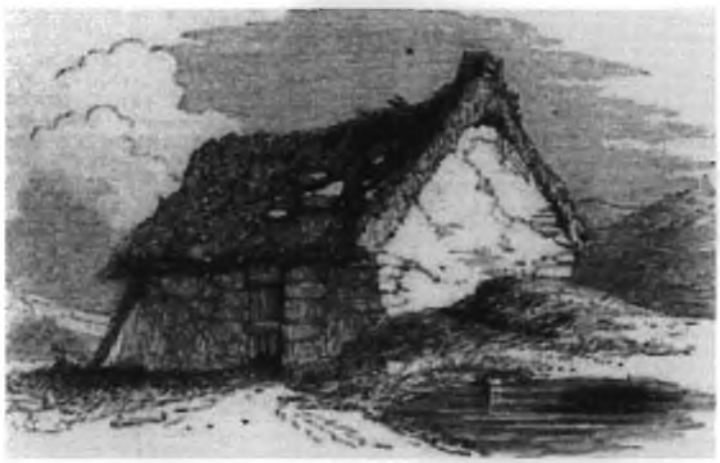


Fig. 3.13 "A Cabin" by C. H. Weigall. Ireland vol. 3 (1843).

In Chapter 2, I discussed in some detail Maclise's image of "The Irish Cabin" (Fig. 2.10) accompanying Hall's tale of the same name. From a number of different perspectives, Halls' Ireland returns to the subject of the Irish cabin in different contexts on their travels around Ireland. They describe an Irish cabin in Leitrim (Fig. 3.13) as being "by no means of the worst class" and the Irish cabin in general is then discussed at length, complete with copious footnotes, anecdotes and commentary.[99] Hall frequently recommended how the cabins could be improved in her Sketches.[100] She blamed laziness and indifference for repairs that were not made and like Elizabeth Hamilton on life at Glenburnie, saw herself as fulfilling an important role by providing such advice. The frontispiece for Hamilton's The Cottagers of Glenburnie shows the dung-hill outside the door, the puddle of dirty water at the entrance to the cottage, the ducks freely roaming the interior and the general air of carelessness and dirt (Fig. 3.14). In both her fictional and factual writings, Hall drew attention to similar failings in Ireland as in "The Irish Cabin," which had a similar dunghill outside the door.

Fig. 3.14 Frontispiece. The Cottagers of Glenburnie by Elizabeth Hamilton (1812).

Claudia Kinmonth highlighted the fear that Irish peasants often had of demonstrating any improvements to their houses as they were in dread that the landlord would raise rent for any perceived improved circumstances. This fear of overt display and the subtle attempt to play down their few possessions was something that rankled with Hall who constantly pleaded with the peasants to improve their living conditions by seeing to problems quickly before they deteriorated any further. From the peasant's perspective this could well have been counterproductive and costly. John Barrell in an essay on the English context and the shift from a rural to an urban environment, refers to Hannah More's Black Giles the Poacher (1796). The protagonist refused to repair his cottage as he hoped his ruined abode would elicit more sympathy and charity from passers by, "though a short ladder, a hod of mortar, and an hour's leisure time would have prevented all of this."[101] Reformers like More and Hall were always keen to promote independence through honest labour. The illustration in (Fig. 3.15) depicts a cabin in the fishing colony at Claddagh in Galway which belonged to the King or local ruler of the district. The Halls noted that the cottages were cleaner and better furnished here than many they had seen elsewhere and that the locals were industrious and hard-working. The women

and children are clustered around the entrance to the cabin with visual references to their industry, such as butter churning and fish drying on display, proof of their well-organised livelihoods. As in other sections of their three-volume publication, the Halls generously acknowledged the artist who provided most of the illustrations for this particular section on Galway, William Evans of Eton: "We are fortunate in having obtained the co-operation of so accomplished an artist; and lament that the beauty of his coloured drawings cannot be satisfactorily transferred to our pages by the aid of wood engraving."[102]

Fig. 3.15 "Cabin Door, Claddagh" by W. Evans. Ireland vol. 3. (1843).

Evans (1798-1877) visited Ireland in 1835 and again in 1838 and enthused about the "primeval simplicity" of the honest peasants. "Ireland had failed to attract the pencils of the recording brethren of the easel, and lay like a virgin soil untouched by the plough."[103] His vignette of the young bare-footed woman in the cottage interior (Fig.3.16) accompanies the text that highlighted details such as the "rude and smoke-dried chimney piece" with its plates, the saddle on a peg, a four-legged stool, the kish with its potatoes and the iron pot attached to the chimney by its crook.

Fig. 3.16 "Interior of a Cabin" by W. Evans. Ireland vol. 3 (1843).

Their descriptions and comments provide factual details on the usage of various implements and, most importantly, opinions about how peasants should be rewarded for the upkeep and maintenance of their cabins: "the peasant should

be taught to *want* comforts." Hall used the occasion to comment on the important role of the good landlord from her own home town: "... we have more than once pictured Irish cottages, as neat, orderly, and comfortable as the best cottages of England – such, for example, as those on the estate of Grogan Morgan, Esq., in Johnstown Castle, county of Wexford."[104]

There are some very fine depictions of cabin interiors in Hall's Sketches as shown in those by W. H. Brooke and William Harvey which accompany the stories "Master Ben" and "Father Mike". Much can be gleaned again about the implements used and the living conditions of rural Irish peasantry in 1840s Ireland prior to the major famine later in the decade. (Fig. 3.17) shows the quiet aftermath of the story, a scene of repose, whereas the image of Father Mike's cabin in (Fig. 3.18) captures the terror and tension as the murderer Phil Waddy approached the cabin, remaining outside "like a prowling wolf."[105]

Fig. 3.17 "The Schoolmaster's Cabin" by W. H. Brooke. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 3.18 "The Priest's Warning" by W. Harvey. Sketches (1844).

One of the difficulties with coordinating a publication in which many artists participated was that consistency was difficult to maintain throughout. One such instance can be seen in (Figs. 3.19 and 3.20) where different artists illustrated the interior of Dovecote Cottage in Midsummer Eve. (Fig. 3.20) by F. W. Fairholt accurately conformed to the description provided by Hall on pages 25-26 regarding the interior. We can see the "dried hams and fish, intermingled with bunches of herbs" suspended from the rafters, the dresser stacked with

crockery and pewter, the settle, losset (wooden tray) and wheels for spinning flax and wool. It was, however, entirely different in character from the image of Dovecote in (Fig. 3.19) by Paton, which was full of the trappings of a bourgeois English cottage replete with harp, piano, framed portraits, antique furniture and expensive soft furnishings. Although we know that Eva Raymond's father was a "brave officer"[106] and therefore not one of the regular peasants, this sumptuous interior was more redolent of a leafy cottage in Hampstead, one of Hall's regular English settings, than Killarney. The Raymonds also had Kitty Kelly, a nurse, resident in their cottage, which set them in a different league from the local Irish peasantry who rarely intruded on this fairy fantasy.

Fig. 3.19 "The Portrait" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).
Fig. 3.20 "Dovecote interior" by F. W. Fairholt. Midsummer Eve (1848).

The visuals accompanying Hall's variety of publications can be seen to serve a variety of purposes. In Ireland, the illustrations contributed to the factual and sociological account of the living conditions. Ireland did not solely comprise factual data as suggested by the numerous footnotes and glosses relating legends and folklore but a high percentage of illustrations perform a purely metanymic function in that they represent implements, portraits of costumes or landscape views.[107] In Hall's Sketches and her fairy tale Midsummer Eve, the type of illustration employed is more often than not of a metaphoric nature comprising imaginary reconstructions of the scene. In a publication where numerous artists were employed, the contrast between the two types of

illustration is not always evident. Rosemary Mitchell in Picturing the Past warns against uncritically accepting the authenticity of the metanymic view, which may not have been created intentionally for a particular publication but, as in Evans's illustrations in (Figs. 3.10, 3.15 and 3.16) above, the artist agreed to let the Halls use his drawings for their purposes. Likewise, metaphoric illustration, especially in the nineteenth century, put great store by authenticity and period detail.

Images of Ireland: Idealised Irish Women

In addition to providing so many insights into the living accommodation of the Irish peasants, Hall portrays the women and men of Ireland from her own distinctive perspective. She idealised Irish women, had little time for the Irish male, but had a fondness for a certain kind of fringe character she called her "gaberlunzies." The next section of this chapter examines her portrayal of these groups of characters and how artists have responded to her narratives.

Hall had an idealised view of Irish womanhood as exemplified by the following extract:

> The women of Ireland – from the highest to the lowest – represent the national character better than the other sex... In writing of Irish women, we refer to no particular class or grade; from the most elevated to the most humble, they possess innate purity of thought, word and deed and they are certainly unsurpassed, if they are equalled, for the qualities of heart, mind and temper, which make the best companions, the safest counsellors, the truest friends, and afford the surest securities for sweet and upright discharge of duties in all the relations of life.[108]

Irish women, in her opinion, occupied a position somewhere between the vivacity of the French and the stability of the English.[109] This tendency to compare characteristics of one nationality with another was something Hall frequently did, given her interest in physiognomy. It was also a popular preoccupation with many writers and artists of this period. In her sketch entitled "Luke O'Brian", the hero fares poorly in comparison with his female compatriot:

> His countenance is nondescript – appertaining to no particular nation, yet possessing, it may be said, the deformities of all: an Austrian mouth, French complexion, Highland hair (of the deepest tint)...and a nose elevated and depressed in open defiance of the line of beauty.[110]

The following section examines how Hall's women were portrayed by artists, concluding with a note on how the same heroine could be depicted in radically different ways, depending on the artist and the style of the period. Five of Hall's heroines were depicted by Daniel Maclise in steel engraved plates in the illustrated version of Sketches. They are typical examples of how popular prints were reused by publishers if they could be adapted to similar contexts.

Fig. 3.21 "Mary Ryan's Daughter" by D. Maclise. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 3.22 "Lilly O'Brien" by D. Maclise. Sketches (1844).

Chapter 2 demonstrated how Hall altered her stories to incorporate these prints. Maclise's portrait plates had been used previously in Leitch Ritchie's Ireland Romantic and Picturesque (1837-38) and they were similar in design to the series of portraits that Maclise had submitted earlier in the decade to Lady Blessington, the editor of Heath's Book of Beauty from 1834-49.[111]

(Fig.3.21) shows the plate for Hall's tale "Mary Ryan's Daughter" which had appeared as "The Irish Market Girl" in Leitch Ritchie's 1838 volume and (Fig. 3.22) accompanies "Lilly O'Brien" which was entitled "The Irish Hood" in Ritchie's volume for 1837.

Art historian Julian Campbell has described how Maclise captured the essence of courtly love in his portrayal of women and lovers. His male figures had a sturdy Teutonic or Celtic masculine quality but many of his women were of a particular type. They had smooth oval faces, framed by parted shining hair with "ardent eyes lowered and a sweet, gentle expression."[112] Maclise's fascination with medieval themes, his awareness of the Nazarene preference for a Raphaelesque quattrocento look and the idealisation of Irish rural life epitomised by the shy, innocent Connemara-type maiden was something that suited the portrayal of Hall's heroines perfectly.

Fig. 3.23. "Young Turf-cutter" by W. Evans. Sketches (1844).

The contrast between Maclise's idealised, well-dressed, and windswept "beauty," dominating the landscape with her baskets (that serve no other purpose than as fashionable artistic prop or visual balance) and that of William Evans's realistic image of Peggy cutting turf, is stark. It is particularly striking as they are on facing pages at the beginning of the story "Mary Ryan's Daughter." Peggy, the heroine of the tale, was thought to be the illegitimate daughter of one of the gentry who had met her mother Mary some years previously. When mother and daughter return to Mary's village of Avoca and the nearby hills of Wicklow, they were shunned by family and belittled by some neighbours until Daddy Denny, the local beggarman looks after them, reveals the truth and brings about a happy resolution to their problems. In the meantime, Peggy had to work hard to provide for her mother, selling eggs, candles, turf and other produce. The vignette by Evans (Fig. 3.23) shows the

artist's concern to depict the reality of the hard work, the misery of digging barefoot in desolate areas in inclement weather and the sheer drudgery of the task.

The Maclise images, as in the Ritchie publications, portray an altogether more romantic and picturesque image of Ireland. There was a great demand for such images of national beauties in national costume accompanying prose tales or poetry. Hall had edited and produced seven sketches for a similar publication in 1837, Findens' Tableaux: A Series of Thirteen Scenes of National Character, Beauty and Costume.[113] The plates accompanying two such sketches by Hall entitled "Naples - The Romance of Maddalena," and "Africa - The Rescue," (Figs. 3.24 and 3.25) demonstrate the vogue for this genre. The plates were the most important elements of the publication and the authors and poets took their cue from the visual, writing stories based on the plates. This publication also demonstrated the fact that Hall was interested in the "characters" of other nationalities and that her interest in Irish "character" was part of a wider focus on the customs and traits of regional areas.

Fig. 3.24 (Above) "Naples: Romance of Maddalena" by W. and E. Finden. Findens' Tableaux (1843).

Fig. 3.25 (Left) "Africa: The Rescue" by W. and E. Finden. Findens' Tableaux (1843).

Fintan Cullen has described how the general consensus in the first half of the nineteenth century, in both literature and the visual arts, was that national character, "exhibited itself most strongly and visibly in the rural poor."[114] It was undoubtedly also part of the Saidian "Orientalist" mindset, the need to exoticise the "other".[115] Thijs Weststeijn in Imagology referred to the fact that the nineteenth century saw a "surge in the stereotypical portrayal of others, triggered by the World Fairs that presented peoples from other continents to Europeans, usually in the context of 'orientalist' attitudes inspired by colonial power relations."[116] Hall's publications predated by over a decade The Great Exhibition of 1851 but nonetheless, Weststeijn's comments hold true. However, with a steady demand for publications such as Heath's Book of Beauty, there was always going to be a steady market for such elegant beauties.

Victorian artists had an insatiable appetite for foreign travel and with the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars at Waterloo in 1815, tourism flourished, with artists eagerly returning to Continental Europe for inspiration. Topographical views were much sought after as were picturesque views peopled by locals in their folk costumes. This demand for paintings that combined exotic locations with genre saw a flourishing of romanticised scenes of dancing peasants, wild brigands and melodramatic incidents.[117] This same ethos underlined an important aspect of the Hall's desire to present Ireland as the perfect destination for tourists and painters, marketing its picturesque potential and the authenticity of its native population.

During their travels, the Halls encountered a number of "mountain maidens" from near the village of Delphi near Galway and both the text and the images testify to their idealisation of this type of woman (Fig. 3.26). Knowing that the reader may well be sceptical, they plead:

> Mr. Harvey has supplied us with a series of sketches of these mountain maidens; we have his assurance that each and all of them are 'taken from the life;' and we, who have seen originals quite as graceful, can well believe him; although we shall find it difficult to persuade our readers that the pictures owe absolutely nothing to the painter's fancy.[118]

The woman is described as having perfect Grecian features: "her brow was finely arched; the chin, a feature so seldom seen in perfection, was exquisitely modelled." The simple costumes of these elegant women, their physique, their cottage skills are praised to a level of respect that is in stark contrast to some of Hall's blatantly stereotypical descriptions of the Irish recounted earlier in this chapter. The fact that these maidens do not conform to one stereotype does not preclude them from being subject to another equally rigid and idealised stereotype. The author's astonishment that such otherworldly beauty can exist in such a wild setting necessitates a verification to back up the authenticity of the artist's portrayal.

Fig. 3.26 "Woman of Delphi" by W. Harvey. Ireland vol. 3 (1843).
Fig. 3.27 "The Mother's Blessing" by R. Huskisson. Midsummer Eve (1848).

The tender image of young motherhood by Robert Huskisson which is the frontispiece for Midsummer Eve captured the essence of what Hall admired most in the loving, selflessness of Irish femininity. The scene is idyllic and full of Irish iconography. Torc waterfall, back-lit by a rainbow and festooned with garlands of fairies and foliage, draws the eye to the central image of the young heroine Eva Raymond (Fig. 3.27). Her mother has chosen wisely amongst the gifts offered to her daughter by the fairies. She has rejected Honeybell's worldly gifts of beauty, wealth and spirit in favour of Nightstar's higher gifts which are "to be loving and beloved."[119] The timeless image of the Madonna and child with its

echoes of Christianity rests comfortably alongside the realm of fairy and folklore and Hall's high moral purpose is beautifully captured by the artist.

It is important to note how changes in stylistic trends and book illustration could provide a radically different image of the same tale. In "Annie Leslie" the sentimental and picturesque view of the young heroine (Fig. 3.28) outside her cottage, wistfully thinking of James M'Cleary, is a world apart from the theatrical drama of the 1844 image (Fig. 3.29), over thirty years earlier. The open door with the enraged hero, affronted by the sight of his rival Andrew Furlong on his knees before his sweetheart Annie is full of theatricality, Gothic melodrama yet touches of humour and farce. Light and shade in the engraving is utilised to excellent effect, the moonlight falling directly on Annie's perplexed face. It is a key moment in the story, the turning point where James leaves Bannow to become a sailor, much to Annie's heartache.

Fig. 3.28 "Annie Leslie." Artist unknown. Annie Leslie and Other Stories. [1877].
Fig. 3.29 "The Rivals" by H. J. Townsend, engraved by Jackson. Sketches (1844).

Images of Ireland: Beggars and "Gaberlunzies"

Hall favoured a number of Irish character types. She had a profound respect for her own schoolmaster, Master Ben, during her childhood in Bannow, and he and other Irish schoolmasters feature regularly. The loyal Irish nurse, prepared to give up her own comfort and livelihood for the sake of a young charge is another typical trope. Katty Macane in Marian, Nelly Clarey in "Kelly the Piper" and Nurse Keefe in "Hospitality" are all examples of this self-sacrificing devoted character. Hall had a deep respect and admiration for Irish women as we have seen but she also held a special place for the "gaberlunzies" as she referred to them. These were often older men, father-like figures who spent the bulk of their days outdoors, close to nature. Not confined only to a male version, they were the wise old men or women who had their ear close to the ground, lived on the edges of the community but knew everyone's business and were always ready to give a helping hand to those down on their luck. Variously described as storytellers, beggars, woodcutters and fisherfolk, they straddled the real and the supernatural world. Such characters included Randy the Fairy Man in Midsummer Eve, Simon the farm hand in The Swan's Egg, Alick the Traveller in Annie Leslie, Peggy the Fisher in "Lilly O'Brien" and Matty Murphy in The Prince of The Fair Family. Almost all of Hall's sketches included references to one or other such stock character. Joep Leerssen has described the otherworldiness of these Irish characters thus:

> Real Irish characters exist only in the furthest corners of the country, often in spots that are inaccessible and somehow separate from the normal world. They live in remote glens, on islands in lakes, on the shore or even offshore, in crumbling ruins that are left over from the past, almost as if they do not really belong to the same time-scale as other characters.[120]

The timeless quality of these quaint individuals evokes nostalgia for the rural idyll sought by many romantic writers of this period. Hall's frequent reminders of the non-partisan nature of her writings, finds expression in what Leerssen describes as "the de-historicised and de-politicised peasant" who was also chosen to be the repository for the moral core of the story.[121] Despite her

admiration for these characters therefore, she effectively disempowered them by focusing on their liminal existence.

The following images show a range of variations on the "gaberlunzie" as illustrated by different artists. (Fig. 3.30) shows Alick the Traveller from Bannow, purveyer of all kinds of fish and "a person of great importance, known to everybody, high and low, rich and poor, in the province of Leinster."[122] The Bannow postman (Fig. 3.31) with his bag of parcels and post is eagerly awaited by all classes in the village of Bannow, from old Grey Lambert who lived in a corner of the old ruined castle to the three young ladies at the Parsonage, to Sir James Horatio Banks M.P. in the Big House. Joseph Noel Paton captures Hall's sentimental portrait of Randy the woodcutter from Midsummer Eve (Fig. 3.32), his affinity with children and by extension his own childlike simplicity. (Fig. 3.33) shows another favourite of Hall's, the "natural" or local village simpleton. Barney Roach was the self-proclaimed "castle fool" of Johnstown Castle in Wexford and a lively mixture of "absurdity and shrewdness."[123] The Irish peasant's identifiable uniform is worn with little variation in the various images – the frock coat, tricorn hat, cravat and either barefoot or with brogues. They are not depicted in a satirical or stereotypical fashion but with gentle dignity.

Not all images of Irish women were the idealised classical beauties outlined above. Peggy the Fisher (Fig. 3.34) was one of Hall's Bannow characters, the local matchmaker, who is depicted chatting to the heroine Lilly O'Brien as she delivered not only fish but local gossip. Like Alick the Traveller or Grey Lambert, these marginal characters were invariably more educated than most and were often sought after by other members of the community to read letters from lovers and to help pen replies. (Fig. 3.35) portrays another wise woman, the keening woman or "Ban Caointhe" from Kerry. The Halls were equally intrigued and horrified by some of the Irish customs, namely the Irish Wake, the Fairs, such as the notorious one at Donnybrook and the violent Faction Fights which they deplored. The description of the Kerry keener who alternates between praising the deceased and raining curses down on the police who killed the young man for resisting arrest, is related with accuracy and fascination.

(Clockwise from top left)

Fig 3.30 "Alick the Traveller" by H. J. Townsend. Sketches (1844).

Fig 3.31 "The Postman and his Horse" by R. R. Mclan. Sketches (1844).

Fig 3.32."Randy the woodcutter" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Fig 3.33 "Barney Roach" by E. T. Parris. Ireland vol. 2 (1842).

The rhythm and metre of the keening lamentation was discussed by the Halls, quoting the expertise of Mr Beaufort of the Royal Irish Academy and a few sample bars of the music were included with their text. In another example of their romantic rhetoric, the Halls recount how they were awed by the magnificence of the keen, describing how emotive it was in a wild mountain pass "swelled by a thousand voices"[124]

Fig. 3.34 "Lilly's Interview with "the Fisher" by J. R. Herbert. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 3.35 "The Ban Caointhe" by J. C. Timbrell. Ireland vol. 1 (1841).

Conclusion

Those whom Hall amused, were not those whom she instructed, but an English audience who enjoyed her tales often at the expense of the Irish peasant. Her many sketches of the Irish people portrayed a people that were loyal and warm-hearted and though they had their vices, their virtues were undeniable. The Monthly Review for 1831 found that she was, if anything, too truthful in her writings:

> Her delineations of Irish character and manners cannot be exceeded for truth, they are in fact too strictly, too severely real, and we must say the more durable impression of the Irish character which we derive from her powerful scenes is not wholly of a favourable nature though we are aware of the amiable

> purpose which that lady had in view when writing these national stories.[125]

While her stories revealed her didactic intent, the illustrations to her writings did not always work in a predictable manner. As has been demonstrated, many of the images were produced for later editions of works that had been in circulation for some time. The illustrated edition of Sketches included plates by Maclise that had already courted favour in other publications. Those provided especially for her stories did not always meet with her wholehearted approval as in (Fig. 3.7) of "The 'Pattern' Tent", so the choice of imagery was not in her control and she frequently had to make changes to the text to accommodate the artist's interpretation of her tale. Different artists interpreted her descriptions in radically different ways as in Paton's and Fairholt's images of Dovecote Cottage (Figs. 3.19 and 3.20). Later editions naturally reflected contemporary art styles when interpreting her tales as in (Figs. 3.28 and 3.29) of Annie Leslie. With Tales of Irish Life and Character featuring Erskine Nicol's paintings, the imagery reinforced and highlighted the negative stereotype of the guileless "Paddy." Her close association with his paintings did her no favours and may have contributed to a critical depreciation of her work in the twentieth century.

Many artists and engravers were involved in the production of Sketches, Ireland and Midsummer Eve and Appendix B shows how the same artists worked regularly for the Halls during the 1840s on these major publications. Compared to the preference later on in the nineteenth century for a single artist working closely to interpret an author's work, these publications provide a rich legacy of the kind of complex, collaborative project favoured by the Halls and indeed the publishers of the period. The images of Ireland and of the Irish portrayed in these publications provide the reader with a lasting record of "the characteristics" of a people from Hall's perspective and those of her artists. There are romantic images, idealised images, realistic images and stereotypical images but overall the imagery is positive and enticing. The "truthful" representation of a country in crisis politically and economically in the 1840s is not to be found explicitly delineated in the imagery in these publications but the juxtaposition with Hall's accounts of peasant life give the reader valuable

insights into her distinctive Anglo-Irish perspective on her countrymen and women at an important historical juncture.

Hall's aim, as set out in my opening quotation for this chapter, was to examine the "original" and to take her cue from nature. From a literary and commercial point of view, she was certainly successful. While her stance may have been outspoken, or "truthful," to use her term, she could justify this from a moral standpoint. She had to effect change, even if the truth, as she perceived it, was hard to acknowledge for the peasant Irish. The difficulty for the Anglo-Irish writer, especially for one living mostly in England, has been identified by Joep Leerssen:

> The English image of Ireland is precisely that: English. Even when created, perpetuated or influenced by Anglo-Irish authors, it is ultimately determined by the pre-expectations of its English audience, dealing with those aspects which are considered "unusual" or "interesting" ie. defined negatively by their non-Englishness. And those Irish authors who thought to combat the negative import of that image in fact agreed with its most basic point: the fact that the "real" Ireland is that which differs most from England.[126]

Leerssen emphasises what has been shown in this chapter to be Hall's "Orientalist" approach to Ireland. Hall was writing these works ostensibly as an English woman, interpreting her subject for her English audience but with the advantage of her "inside" information, her own Irish background. Through her settings, characters, style of writing, language and figures of speech, she succeeded in re-presenting Ireland but from her Anglo-Irish vantage point. The verisimilitude she achieves derives more from her perceptions than from her subjects'. Her "truthful" portraits oscillated between the extremes of negative and idealised stereotypes that ultimately reveal more to the reader about Hall's own attitudes and insecurities than those of the Irish peasant.

The next chapter explores another form of mimetic imitation, not colonial mimicry as outlined here, but a form related to Hall's didactic writings and the process by which a child learns through active observation and imitation.

Notes

[1] Mrs S. C. Hall, Sketches of Irish Character, vol. 1 (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1829) viii.

[2] Mrs S. C. Hall, Sketches of Irish Character (London: M. A. Nattali, 1844) vi. This edition, unless otherwise stated, will be referred to throughout this chapter and will be abbreviated as follows: Sketches (1844), with the relevant page number.

[3] Sketches (1844) vi.

[4] "The Irish Cabin" 171.

[5] Newcomer, Books at Iowa 19.

[6] Edward Said, Orientalism (1978; London: Penguin, 1991) 20-21.

[7] Said 21.

[8] Gebauer, Mimesis 269.

[9] Rajeev S. Patke, "Walter Benjamin and a Poetics of the Post-Colonial Lyric," First Walter Benjamin Association World Conference, University of Amsterdam, 24-26 July 1997.

[10] Bhabha "Of Mimicry" 126.

[11] Ingman 28.

[12] The 1829 publication included two volumes with the following sketches: Volume 1: "Lilly O'Brien", "Kelly the Piper", "Captain Andy", "Independence", "Black Dennis" and "Old Frank". Volume 2: "The Bannow Postman", "Father Mike", "Master Ben", "Hospitality" and "Peter the Prophet". The 1831 publication consisted of the following sketches: "Mabel O'Neil's Curse", "Annie Leslie", "The Rapparee", "Norah Clary's Wise Thought", "Kate Connor", "We'll See About It", "Jack the Shrimp", "Irish Settlers in an English Village", "Mark Connor's Wooing and Wedding", "Luke O'Brian", "Larry Moore", "Mary MacGoharty's Petition" and "The Last of the Line.

[13] One such example was "Master Ben" which first appeared in The Spirit and Manners of the Age in January 1829, followed by publication in vol. 2 of the 1829 publication Sketches of Irish Character by Westley and Davis, the same publishers that produced The Spirit and Manners of the Age. It was reproduced

in the illustrated edition of Sketches of Irish Character in 1842, published by How & Parsons in 1842, the 1844 edition by M. A. Nattali, Popular Tales of Irish Life and Character published by Thomas D. Morison in [1856] and Tales of Irish Life and Character published by T. N. Foulis in 1909.

[14] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 425-426.

[15] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 459.

[16] Two separate tales entitled "The Savoyards" were written by Hall early in her career, one in The Amulet (1827) and the other in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1829). "Gaspard and his Dog" also featured Savoyards and their and appeared in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1831).

[17] Mrs S. C. Hall, Lights and Shadows of Irish Life, (London: Henry Colburn, 1838) vi.

[18] Said 5-7.

[19] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Poor Dummy," Heath's Book of Beauty (1836): 164.

[20] Sha 1.

[21] Brander Matthews, The Philosophy of the Short-Story, (qtd. in Ingman, A History of the Short Story 8).

[22] Georges Denis Zimmermann, The Irish Storyteller (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001) 223.

[23] "She did not see so clearly as I saw the value of imagination in literature for the young, and was almost angry when she discovered that a sketch I had written of a scene at Killarney was pure invention. S. C. Hall Retrospect vol. 2 426; "Field Day Anthology" vol. 5 847.

[24] The Edinburgh Literary Journal vol. 1 May (1829): 405.

[25] Tim Killick, British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) 2. Irving published three collections while living in England, The Sketch Book in 1820, Bracebridge Hall in 1822 and Tales of a Traveller in 1824 and they were widely reviewed. The Halls knew Irving and Nathaniel Hawthorne personally. Hawthorne wrote of his visits to the Halls' home on several occasions during his European sojourn from 1853-57.There is reason to believe that Hall was familiar with at least a selection of their writings.

[26] Ingman 18.

[27] Ingman 8-9.

[28] Joanne Shattock, The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 295-296; Martin Garrett, "Mitford, Mary (1787-1855)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Web. 30 Oct 2009.

[29] Sketches (1829) vol. 1 vi.

[30] Sketches (1844) 358.

[31] Keane 63-66.

[32] Connolly The Cambridge History of Irish Literature 407-448.

[33] Sketches (1844) 326-27. In this sketch entitled "Old Frank," the faithful servant had hidden the best wine in the asparagus beds to avoid the rebels getting hold of it. He had also hidden a number of horses in the hen and turkey-houses. Most importantly he was instrumental in releasing his master from captivity by carrying a forged order to General Roche who was in charge of the rebel forces in Wexford.

[34] Anna Maria Hall, letter to Sir James Emerson Tennent, 15 July [1841], T1638/10/5A, Public Record Office, Belfast. The letter, written at Johnstown Castle in Wexford, described an ugly scene during the local elections which caused her great anxiety and dismay at "not a pleasing view of the Irish character."

> Mobs are watching the roads and attack and break cars and stone whoever is not on the Liberal side – poor Mrs Hickey (the wife of "Martin Doyle"/Rector of Wexford) was coming through Taghmon on Saturday with the Curate of the Parish and her daughter when she was first hooted – then her clothes were torn to pieces – and when at last the coachman whipped on the horse a shower of stones followed – one of which struck her on the head – the poor lady is in a very dangerous state indeed as they fear the brain is injured – and this occurred in what "The Independent" terms – "the brave little town of Taghmon".

[35] Mrs S. C. Hall et al., Homes and Haunts of the Wise and Good or Visits to Remarkable Places in English Literature and History (Philadelphia: J. W. Bradley, 1860) 235-236. Hall was in awe of Hannah More, inspired as she was from an early age by her many influential writings including Strictures on Female Education, Hall's "polar star from infancy." Hall described a visit to her residence in January 1825 as she herself was "Trembling on the threshold of a Life of Literature." She described how a hand-written invitation from the great woman was "an event that made the heart thrill with delight – not altogether unallied to fear." More had been Hall's "earliest, if not the strongest" influence on her own literary life.

[36] Shattock, The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers 302-304; S. J. Skedd "More, Hannah (1745-1833)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Web. 14 Mar. 2009.

[37] Mitzi Myers, "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology," Fetter'd or Free? British Women Novelists, 1670-1815, eds. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986) 265.

[38] Elizabeth Hamilton, The Cottagers of Glenburnie 1808, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974) 133.

[39] Susan B. Egenolf, "Domestic Rebellion: Hamilton's Cottagers of Glenburnie," The Art of Political Fiction in Hamilton, Edgeworth, and Owenson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) 129-155.

[40] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 428. He maintained that her books were never popular in Ireland. "Her freedom in writing of her old friends of the humbler classes gave them dire offence; they "never thought Miss Maria would have done it!"

[41] Mary Leadbetter, Cottage Dialogues Among the Irish Peasantry (Dublin: Printed by J. and J. Carrick, 1811) v. Mrs Edgeworth, R. Edgeworth and Miss Edgeworth were listed amongst the list of 165 names, requesting twenty-one copies each, a total of sixty-three copies of the publication.

[42] Rev. of Sketches of Irish Character, by Mrs. S. C. Hall, The Edinburgh Literary Journal 30 May 1829: 405-06.

[43] Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature, 3rd ed., vol. 7 (New York: American Book Exchange, 1880) 216.

[44] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Edgeworthstown: Memories of Maria Edgeworth," The Art-Journal July (1849): 225-229.

[45] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 100.

[46] Bhabha, "Of Mimicry" 86.

[47] This referred in particular to Lady Morgan's third novel The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale (London: Richard Phillips, 1806).

[48] Killick 121-24.

[49] Egenolf, 155.

[50] Joep Leerssen, "The Poetics and anthropology of National Character (1500-2000)," Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters, eds. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007) 73-74.

[51] Barnaby Bumpus, "Phrenology," The Dublin Penny Journal 28 July 1832: 39-40. This was one of the more light-hearted articles on the subject.

[52] "Phrenology," Encyclopædia Britannica Online Library Edition, 2010. Web. 30 Apr. 2010.

[53] T. R. Wright, "From Bumps to Morals; The Phrenological Background to George Eliot's Moral Framework," The Review of English Studies 33:129 (1982): 35-36.

[54] In 1832 alone, there were at least three articles on the topic in The Dublin Penny Journal. 28 July 1832: 32 and 39-40 and 18 Aug (1832) 60-61. Employers could even request a reference from a phrenologist to gauge if an employee was likely to be hard-working and reliable.

[55] Mrs S. C. Hall, A Woman's Story vol. 1 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857) 72.

[56] A Woman's Story (1857) vol. 1 312.

[57] L. Perry Curtis Jr., Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature, (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971) 11. Later in the nineteenth century, John Beddoe (1826-1911) carried out extensive ethnological and racial investigations culminating in The Races of Britain in 1885. He was convinced that hair and eye colour held the key to ethnic origins and he developed an "Index of Nigrescence" which conveniently found the darkest ends of his index inhabited the far West both of Wales and Ireland, further fuel to the notion of the Africanoid Celt.

[58] Sheridan Gilley, "English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900," Immigrants and Minorities in British Society, ed. Colin Holmes (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978) 89-90 and Roy Foster Paddy and Mr Punch: Connections in Irish History and English History (London: Allen Lane, 1993).

[59] Mrs. S. C. Hall, The Curse of Property, Ms. 34,260 [c. 1830] National Library of Ireland, Dublin and The Iris, A Literary & Religious Offering (1831) 227.

[60] Ania Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism (1998; London: Routledge, 2005) 85.

[61] Sketches (1844) 206.

[62] Sketches (1844) 181.

[63] A Woman's Story (1857) vol. 1 13.

[64] Sketches (1844) [247].

[65] Mrs S. C. Hall, Chronicles of a Schoolroom (Boston: Cottons and Barnard, 1830) 71.

[66] Keane 52-53.

[67] Sketches (1844) 58.

[68] Sketches (1844) 221.

[69] Five of Hall's stories in the 1909 book had appeared in Lights and Shadows of Irish Life (1838) ("The Jaunting Car", "Beggars", "Naturals", "Illustrations of Irish Pride" and "Moyna Brady") and the remaining six stories were included in the first series of her Sketches (1829) ("The Bannow Postman", "Kelly the Piper", "Lilly O'Brien" and "Master Ben'"), the second

series (1831) ('We'll see about it") and finally her Popular Tales of Irish Life and Character (1856) ("Take it easy").

[70] Uniform with the Tales of Irish Life and Character, the same publishers also produced Sketches of English Life and Character by Mary R. Mitford with sixteen pictures by Stanhope A. Forbes, A.R.A. in 1909/10 and Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character by Dean Ramsay with sixteen pictures by Henry W. Kerr, R.S.A. in 1912. The publishers were attempting to exploit a market that played on the perceived stereotype of "characters" with the Irish portrayed the least sympathetically.

[71] Nicol made frequent trips to Ireland in between living in Scotland during the 1850s and London from 1862 onwards where he was elected Associate of the Royal Academy in 1868. Nicol was aware of Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841) and his visit to Ireland in 1835 and his enthusiasm for Ireland's pictorial possibilities. Nicol was only sixteen when Wilkie died yet he was an influential artist, especially noted for his engagement with contemporary subject matter, small scale humorous subjects and utilisation of the techniques of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting.

[72] Sketches (1844) 211.

[73] Brendan Rooney, A Time and a Place: Two Centuries of Irish Social Life (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2006) 14-17.

[74] Fintan Cullen, "Nicol, Erskine," Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online. Web. 30 Nov. 2009.

[75] From 1841-1926 over 172 paintings by Nicol were exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy, mostly of Irish, though some of Scottish genre scenes.

[76] Marie Bourke and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, Discovering Irish Art (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1999) 116-17.

[77] Hall's plays included The Groves of Blarney: A Drama in Three Acts (1836); Mabel's Curse: A Musical Drama in Two Acts (1837); and St. Pierre, the Refugee: A Burletta in Two Acts (1837). Lytton Bulwer (Lord Lytton) was impressed with her talents as a writer and S. C. Hall reproduced Bulwer's account in the New Monthly in 1832 quoting as follows: "Mrs Hall evinces in it,

as in 'The Buccaneer,' very marked talents for the stage, and if she would devote her time and skill to a village tragedy that should contain the simplicity and power of 'Grace Huntley,' I feel confident that it would have a startling success." S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 455.

[78] In "Too Early Wed", one of her tales in Stories of the Irish Peasantry, she says "My readers will find no politics in my sketches" Stories (1840) 13. Her husband claimed that "She tried – as she did by her bonnet-ribbons – to blend the orange and the green. She saw in each party much to praise and much to blame; but what one party approved the other condemned, and "between two stools" – the adage is trite." S. C. Hall, Retrospect, vol. 2 428.

[79] A Woman's Story (1857) vol. 3 224.

[80] Nancy Weston, Daniel Maclise: Irish Artist in Victorian London (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001) 154.

[81] Sketches (1844) 222. Footnote inserted by Hall.

[82] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Larry Moore," The Dublin Penny Journal 10 Nov. 1832: 155-156.

[83] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 17 [1]. See Appendix G.

[84] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Washerwoman," The Irish Penny Journal 4 July 1840: 2.

[85] Mrs S. C. Hall, Annie Leslie and Other Stories (London: T. Nelson and Sons, [1877]) 23.

[86] "The Irish Cabin" 160.

[87] Mrs S. C. Hall, Nelly Nowlan and Other Stories (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1865) 128.

[88] Nelly Nowlan (1865) 130.

[89] A Woman's Story (1857) vol. 1 23-24.

[90] Sketches (1844) [77].

[91] Sketches (1844) 206.

[92] Rev. of The Whiteboy, by Mrs S. C. Hall, The Athenaeum 16 Aug. 1845: 810.

[93] The Art-Union Oct. (1840): 167. According to an eight page prospectus, it was to be issued in twenty monthly parts, each part consisting of two engravings on steel, one engraved map of the county, fifteen wood engravings and forty-eight pages of letterpress. It would be issued on the first day of each month, costing a half crown per part.

[94] The Art-Union Nov. (1840): 172-4.

[95] See Appendix B for details of artists involved.

[96] Ireland (1843) vol. 3 392-393.

[97] Ireland (1843) vol. 3 393-394.

[98] Ina Ferris, The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 35.

[99] Ireland (1843) vol. 3 288-295.

[100] Hall's advice on cabin maintenance can be seen in the following sketches: "We'll See About It" (77-80); "Kelly the Piper" (211-212); and "Independence" (337-339).

[101] Hannah More, "Black Giles the Poacher. Containing some account of a family who had rather live by their wits than by their work," The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, and other Tales. (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1857) 204.

[102] Ireland (1843) vol. 3 456.

[103] Louisa M. Connor Bulman, "Titian in Connemara," Apollo (2004: Apr) 46. Evans exhibited 14 Irish paintings at the Old Watercolour Society, all of Counties Galway and Mayo, between 1836-37. He portrayed landscapes, streetscapes, homes, peasants and the "unexpectedly respectable" quayside at Claddagh.

[104] Ireland (1843) vol. 3 299. Hall dedicated her book The Juvenile Budget: or Stories for Little Readers (1840) to Miss Grogan Morgan of Johnstown Castle, Co. Wexford. It included the Irish stories "The Irish Cabin" and "Irish Jerry."

[105] Sketches (1844) 198.

[106] Midsummer Eve (1848) 4.

[107] Rosemary Mitchell, Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830-1870 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 24-25.

[108] Ireland (1842) vol. 2 315. Though a footnote to this page states that: "It will be scarcely necessary to inform the reader that these remarks proceed from but one of the authors of this work; that they give the opinions, not of an Irishwoman, but of an Englishman," I would argue that it was more likely to have been written by Hall than by her husband. In her many Sketches she invariably praised the Irish woman and downplayed what she felt were the more dubious talents of the Irish male. As an Irish woman herself, modesty could have prompted the footnote so that she was not seen to be including herself in the description.

[109] Ireland (1842) vol. 2 315.

[110] Sketches (1844) [331].

[111] Maclise's designs appeared from 1835-37 and the plates consisted of single portraits of fashionable young women involved in quiet activity. These plates of "beauties" proved a popular formula for Heath's Book of Beauty, interspersed as they were with writings by well known contemporary writers. Hall contributed stories for most of them as she was a close friend of Lady Blessington's and the latter reciprocated with the annuals that Hall edited.

[112] Julian Campbell, "The Theme of Courtly Love: Daniel Maclise's Paintings of Women and Lovers," Daniel Maclise 1806-1870: Romancing the Past, ed. Peter Murray (Cork: Crawford Gallery, 2008) 181.

[113] Reproductions are from the 1843 edition of Findens' Tableaux.

[114] Fintan Cullen, Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland 1750-1930 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997) 116.

[115] Said 2-4.

[116] Thijs Weststeijn, "Visual Arts," Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters, eds. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007) 452.

[117] Julian Treuherz, Victorian Painting (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993) 66-67.

[118] Ireland (1843) vol. 3 470.

[119] Midsummer Eve (1848) 25.

[120] Leerssen, Joep, Remembrance and Imagination (Cork: Cork University Press,1996) 37.

[121] Leerssen, Remembrance 163.

[122] Sketches (1844) 253.

[123] Ireland (1842) vol. 2 27. This drawing of Barney Roach and Fig. 3.31 depicting the Bannow Postman are both included in an "Album of Original Drawings, Published in Mr and Mrs S. C. Hall's Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c." (c. 1832-40) PD 1979 TX Dr 38, Prints and Drawings Collection, National Library of Ireland. The Album was purchased in 1941 and is signed on the inner upper cover by Hall. It consists of 124 illustrations (pencil, pen, ink, wash and watercolour). Some were published in Halls' Ireland as stated, others appeared in Sketches (1844) and some remained unpublished. The colour image of Barney Roach loses the rich tonal colouring when engraved.

[124] Ireland (1841) vol. 1 225.

[125] Rev. of Sketches of Irish Character, (1831) by Mrs S. C. Hall, The Monthly Review May (1831) 151.

[126] Joseph T. Leerssen, Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 1986) 84.

Chapter 4

Mimicry and Modelling: Didacticism and Fantasy in Hall's School, Animal, Fairy and Ghost Stories for Children

Introduction

This chapter examines the evolution of Hall's didactic writings for children. It considers firstly her conceptual frames of reference, secondly her conviction that her own childhood education could provide a successful model for others and finally, her use of school, animal, fairy and ghost stories to relay her moral tales. I begin however, by examining the notion of mimicry. Mimesis works in a number of different ways and just as mimicry was assessed from a postcolonial perspective in Chapter 3, its efficacy within a didactic context is explored in this chapter. The idea that people learn by observing and imitating what others do lies at the heart of Hall's children's books and is central to this chapter. If a tale is successfully related, the reader learns the consequences of good and evil actions and anticipates similar outcomes for similar behaviour. To produce such a response, the tale must be effective and memorable so that it makes an impact on the reader and Hall always valued the importance of entertainment in addition to instruction. A theory that exemplifies this process of learning through imitation and modelling, is that of social learning theory and I begin the chapter by outlining how Hall's objectives can be considered within this theoretical framework. Mimesis can be seen as a process therefore that requires an active response. The child pays attention to a stimulus, memorises what is deemed significant, internalises it and then enacts it in subsequent activities. It is a complex process, dependent on the interest excited by the initial stimulus and the child's individual requirements.

Hall's frequent addresses to her readers confirmed her belief that direct engagement added to the quality of the relationship between her readers and her texts, assisting and guiding them in their identification with her characters. Through Hall's distinctive style of narration and her use of the visualisation process, either through the power of her language or the use of imagery, her ekphrastic discourse significantly contributed to the mimetic experience.

The first half of the chapter concentrates on Hall's school and animal stories, set in a realistic domestic environment. The second half of the chapter shifts to the role of the supernatural in her didactic writings for children, that is, her fairytales and ghost stories, Firstly, how Hall's didactic writings overall can be studied via a framework drawing on social learning theory will provide the opening section to this chapter.

Mimesis and Social Learning Theory

> Fortunately, most human behaviour is learned observationally through modelling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action.[1]

Social learning theory provides an important theoretical foundation for my interpretation of mimesis and ekphrasis in the context of Hall's children's books. Albert Bandura (b. 1925), who first developed social learning theory in the 1960s, saw how "virtually all learning phenomena, resulting from direct experience can occur vicariously by observing people's behaviour and its consequences for them."[2] He argued that modelling was "not merely a process of behavioural mimicry." While certain tasks such as driving a car need to be done in clearly defined ways,[3] most actions leave scope for improvisation to suit various circumstances. The learning process, at a more complex level, is achieved through abstract modelling in that people can acquire, among other things "judgmental standards, linguistic rules, styles of inquiry, information processing skills and standards of self-evaluation."[4] As the opening quotation to this section suggests, each individual learns from the experiences observed through others as it would be impossible for a child to learn everything in life through personal trial and error. By the word "vicarious," Bandura was referring to how individuals develop and learn through imaginative or sympathetic participation in the experience of another. In the context of Hall's children's books, the child reader's empathetic engagement with her texts has much to do with her ekphrastic discourse.

Bandura has shown that observational learning is governed by four subfunctions: attentional processes, retentional processes, behavioural production processes and motivational processes. In brief, attentional processes require the right conditions for learning to take place – the child must be alert, well and not easily distracted. With retentional processes, the child learns to transform observed information into ways to remember the information through symbolic form in imagery and language. Through behavioural production, the child transforms the symbolic conceptions into appropriate forms of action, correcting mistakes and misunderstandings in the process. The final component, the motivational process is equally vital as there needs to be a desire to carry out the activity in the first place, either responding directly to it, vicariously or through self-produced motivation. Selection inevitably occurs as one cannot perform everything that one learns. These subfunctions can be demonstrated through a brief examination of Hall's work.

Hall took care to set the scene for her stories to gain her young readers' attention. She often emphasised the benefits of having a special place or "cosy nook" to enjoy the storytelling and reading process, thus making the attentional stage ever more attractive to her readers. Her framing strategy in stories such as "The Irish Cabin" and "The Savoyards," in which she includes adult companions or tutors for young children, helped to facilitate the reader's identification with the child protagonist. She believed that a child would not only retain information but learn to take moral decisions and act accordingly if a powerful storytelling approach, memorable motifs and, where possible, illustrations were used.

In one of Hall's early school stories, "The Young Rebel," set in Dame Mabel Leigh's school, we see the consequences of Dick Shaw's wilful, disobedient and violent behaviour in the school where he left a trail of destruction amongst the other pupils. He returned to the village many years later, destitute, with a wooden leg and an eye patch and tried to make up for his errant ways by helping out in the village. Likewise, in an early example of her animal stories, "An English Farm-Yard," the well-to-do Annette Mandeville spent a week with the peasant, Lucy Blossom, at Bloom Farm and wanted to return

the compliment. Her mother explained that "a visit to the hall might create desires which would ill become the daughter of an English farmer."[5] She told the fable of the happy wren, who, after a visit from an escaped canary, became discontented with his plain looks and drab nest and ended up being laughed at by his own kind for aping gentility. Hall's morals urged the maintenance of social hierarchies and appropriate behaviour for the station of life in which one was placed. Hall's child reader saw the consequences of certain behaviour and was alert for future reference and possible interpretation.

Bandura rejected mere parrot-like mimicry which did not reflect the depth of engagement associated with abstract modelling. Unfortunately, the didactic writers of the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century were criticised for precisely what they fought against. In her essay "The Cursed Barbauld Crew,"[6] Norma Clarke suggested that the reason for the subsequent unpopularity of the didactic writers was the perception that they were rigidly forcing children to behave a certain way that denied their childish nature.

> Successful products of their teaching would imitate the perfect adults who teach them, lisping morally unimpeachable homilies. Yet the avowed object of the moral and didactic writers was to enable children to grow into mature and reasonable adults.[7]

The cult of childhood, which had its roots in the romantic era, coupled with a backlash against women who spoke with "reason, authority and precision"[8] and were thus seen as threatening and unwomanly, conspired against a favourable critical reception for the didactic writer as the nineteenth century progressed. The next section of this chapter explores some of Hall's contemporary influences and the theories that she favoured, to trace how she developed her strong views on childhood education. Following this, her own childhood experience in Wexford is discussed before finally assessing how her didactic views found expression within the various genres she produced for children.

Contemporary Concepts of Education Influencing Hall

Schooling and education featured in many of Hall's children's books. As instruction lay at the foundation of her entire ethos, this is no surprise. Her

range was extensive and experimental. There were stories set in a typical school setting written for the young child such as Ronald's Reason; or, the Little Cripple (1865).[9] Others such as Daddy Dacre's School (1859) were set outside a traditional school environment to demonstrate her views on educational methods. She provided an account of an Irish school circa 1810 with "Master Ben" (1826) and her novel Marian (1840), explored the comfortless "Young Ladies Establishments" through her vivid description of Miss Arabella Womble's Academy in London. She may have seen the potential market for her stories in schools and certainly her books were offered as school prizes later in the century.[10]

Hall's views on education reflected aspects of the ideas of John Locke (1632-1704), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), Hannah More and Maria Edgeworth. According to Mitzi Myers, Locke, Rousseau and Richard Lovell Edgeworth were the "ritually invoked parents" of this era and the perception prevailed that the women who followed in their footsteps were little more than "daddy's girls."[11] I have chosen to examine these theorists in particular because Hall herself acknowledged and referenced them on numerous occasions as will be shown in this chapter. The influences of authors such as Anna Barbauld (1743-1825), Mary Ann Kilner (1753-1831), Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810) and Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97) permeate her approach to children's books so they will be included in my discussion at different stages of this chapter.

Hall had definite ideas about how a child should be educated which may be summarised as follows: A child fared best in a rural environment, educated at home and not at a boarding school. Care must be taken not to force feed a child with an abundance of meaningless facts and figures and the freedom to play and roam in the countryside was a vital part of education. Repeatedly, these views were expressed in her work and they show her familiarity with the work of the leading theorists in the field – Locke, Rousseau, More and Maria Edgeworth. These will now be examined.

In Chronicles of a School Room, the governess, Mrs Ashburton recommended Locke's An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690) as absolutely necessary reading: "tough reading ... it serves to harden the mind for

more trying conflict; lifts the reader from sensation to intellect."[12] Mrs Ashburton described how, when she set up as a governess, Hannah More had just published her work on education Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education, (1799), Miss Edgeworth had not published at all and Locke's "admirable Essays were, in my opinion, the best on mental subjects; though to a female mind, they are somewhat hard of digestion."[13] Hall's emphasis on the difficulty of Locke's philosophical works for a female mind was typical of the woman writer's ploy to play down the ability to engage with such works lest it be perceived as unwomanly or unnatural. For most women, education was not something for display and, equally, Hall's conservative beliefs frowned on the use of education to step outside one's social position in life. In Uncle Sam's Money-Box (1848), Miss Lucie did not give herself airs:

> She knew not only Latin, but Greek, she never quoted either the one or the other, but contented herself, as Charlotte observed, with the use of 'good wholesome English' – never setting up for a learned lady, or seeming wiser than others. [14]

At the heart of Locke's educational philosophy was his belief that the child's mind was a *tabula rasa* or blank slate and that the right kind of education was vital to bring about the individual's potential. Consequently, Hall believed that a child should develop a rational regard and respect for knowledge rather than a vacuous amalgam of meaningless information. Locke emphasised the importance of learning about practical subjects such as science, geography and astronomy for example as well as the traditional subjects such as Latin and poetry:

> When young men have had their heads employed a little in those abstract speculations, without finding the success and improvement, or that use of them, which they expected, they are apt to have mean thoughts, either of learning or themselves; they are tempted to quit their studies, and throw away the books as containing nothing but hard words and empty sounds.[15]

Hall constantly reiterated the value of appropriate and meaningful teaching and dismissed the method of teaching in a vacuum to minds ill-equipped to understand rote-learning. In one of her "Pen & Sketches" she noted:

> Children do not seem to have anything to do with childhood; they are all prematurely "learned" or "informed;" they talk of "causes and effects," and doubt the healthfulness of buns and "hand-bake."[16]

Fig. 4.1 "The Forced Blooms" by H. C. Selous. Tales of Woman's Trials (1847).

Her most scathing denouncement of erroneous education methods was seen in her story entitled "Cleverness."[17] The Diggons family had just moved to a new house in East-Court with their "three young masters, two young Misses, seven servants, a tutor, and a governess." By all accounts they were "an extraordinary *clever* family." The Diggons's children were always one step ahead of the local children, in particular Alfred and Lucy Erris, aged seven and eight and there was a great deal of bragging and showing-off to prove their skills:

> Alfred and Lucy Erris were invited to spend a day with the family at Deerstone; and – instead of the canter on the pony, the race on the upland lawn, the whoop and merry play, which is the healthy relaxation of healthful children, and which they had expected with an interest which was a pleasure in itself – there was a grand show-off of science, a parade of hard names, a display of

> precocious understanding or rather its distorted shadow, which rendered Alfred and Lucy uncomfortable ... One young Diggons painted, another excelled in languages, another made crude poetry, which though correct in numbers, was without idea; and as to the "ologies,", hard words, and parroted sentences, there was no end of them.[18]

Mrs Erris consequently felt that her children were lagging behind and attempted to educate her children in a similar manner to the Diggons's, neglecting the time the children previously spent outdoors (Fig. 4.1). However, alarmed at Mrs Erris's new methods, the local doctor highlighted the dangers of forcing their education in this manner. He used the example of the forcing-house in his conservatory where his gardener had attempted to produce buds too early in the season and had destroyed the blossoms in the process.

Locke's conviction that children thrived when they had a balanced combination of fresh air, healthy exercise and plenty of sleep found its way time and again into Hall's writings where she extolled the excellent benefits that a sound body brought to a growing rational mind. Like Locke and Rousseau, Hall rejected an educational system that relied on severe punishments and threats. Mrs Ashburton in Chronicles of a School Room declined to employ the birch rod, that common symbol of the school mistress, and rejected coercive methods with her pupils. The consequences of misdeeds should be sufficient to deter a child from misconduct.

There were many elements of Rousseau's philosophy in Hall's vision of the child actively learning within a natural environment, its innate curiosity contributing to its development and understanding of the world. However, she modified his extreme views as he would not allow book learning until the child had reached the age of twelve. Rousseau acknowledged Locke's debt to his own philosophy although he was not inclined to agree with Locke that the child should be treated as a rational being by parents. For Rousseau, society had a negative influence and as in his work Émile (1762), the preferred option was to rear a child away from society in the country, with a tutor, where he could develop naturally through adapting to his surroundings. The struggle for the

individual's survival within an inherently corrupt society was one that Rousseau outlined in The Social Contract (1762). For him, the divine Creator contributed to an individual's innate goodness but the constant forces of man's malign influence thwart him from achieving his potential. This method of learning is evident in "Turns of Fortune" when Mabel describes the importance of life's experience, anticipating Bandura's observational learning:

> "I can see good working in all things," said Mabel; '"or if I had obtained the companionship of books, which I so eagerly desired at first, I should not have had the same inducement to pursue my active duties, to read my own heart, and the great book of nature, which is opened alike to peer and peasant; I have found so much to learn, so much to think of by studying objects and persons – reading persons instead of books."[19]

This emphasis on interacting *in* the world is most emphatically considered in her story entitled Daddy Dacre's School (1859). The two main characters, Edward Poole and Octavius Barlow, spend six weeks holidays with Edward's grandfather in Weymouth. Edward had often told Octy about Daddy Dacre's School so Octy was impatient to meet Daddy Dacre, one of Edward's grandfather's servants. Daddy Dacre's School, as it turned out, was a "wandering establishment" (Fig. 4.2). One day the school could be held by the ocean with a rock pool serving as his "text book"; another day it could be held in the Swanery or up on Chesil Beach finding out about the pebbles and the notorious smugglers who plied their trade in the region.

Fig. 4.2 "Daddy Dacre's School." Artist unknown. Daddy Dacre's School (1859).

Hannah More and Maria Edgeworth were both elder contemporaries of Hall's and they each exerted substantial influences on her work as shown also in Chapter 3. With regard to her children's literature, More's evangelical philanthropy was evident in her development of the Sunday Schools and her seminal Strictures of the Modern System of Female Education (1799). More believed that activities in the Sunday Schools should be varied and entertaining and that a child should not be forced to attend. Her emphasis was not on terror but on getting the best out of the child through kindness and encouragement. Book rewards, money and even gingerbread treats were all used to help motivation.[20] Hall agreed with More on the question of obedience, a prerequisite in many of her stories: "The only undeviating rule to secure this right training is instant, unreasoning and implicit obedience; and if this task be commenced in infancy, both child and parent will be spared an infinity of after sorrow."[21]

More emphasised the importance of making the best use of one's situation in life and advocated the preservation of the status quo. Social order depended on everyone virtuously carrying out his or her duties. The wealthy had responsibilities to the poor who likewise had to fulfil their duties. More never advocated a radical restructuring of society. The life of virtue lay at the backbone of her philosophy. Following Locke, she upheld "the useful as preferable to the merely ornamental."[22]

Hall and Maria Edgeworth were close friends. They corresponded and they visited each other and she referred to Edgeworth's publications on numerous occasions:

> Your grandpapas and mammas loved Robinson Crusoe, of all books of adventure, the best, and were divided (as you are) as to which of Maria Edgeworth's tales delighted them the most; for me, I stand by "Rosamond," and can still enjoy another book, the "Arabian Nights," as much as any of you.[23]

The significance of Practical Education (1798)[24] to Hall's approach to writing for children was immense. The Edgeworths' emphasis on practical learning and experience, on discovery through experiments and not by rote was radical, very child-centred and successful. Mary Hilton has highlighted the eclectic nature of

Practical Education,[25] the references to Locke, Rousseau, Adam Smith (1723-90) and Anna Barbauld, but also to important French writers for the juvenile market such as Mme de Genlis (1746-1830) and Arnaud Berquin (1747-91).[26] Hilton also addressed the difficulties endured by the Edgeworths due to their deliberate omission of religion in the text.[27] Hall was not an educationalist in the sense that Edgeworth and her father were, as demonstrated in their sustained commitment to the subject of how to educate children, but, nonetheless, many of Hall's stories revealed her homage to Maria Edgeworth.

A publication such as Hall's Chronicles of Cosy Nook: A Book for the Young (1875) mirrored aspects of the busy home life encountered by Hall in Edgeworthstown. Although set in England, the family included not only the four children belonging to Mr and Mrs Dacre but also their nieces and nephew, the orphaned Musgrave children and their Irish nurse, Mrs Bridges, from Bannow in Ireland. The linked stories all centre round the creation of a special "cosy nook" that brought out the talents of the children in practical and rewarding ways. Just as Practical Education shunned the use of ready-made expensive toys such as doll's houses, the emphasis in Cosy Nook encouraged the making of models, using card and scissors to create more personal toys. The French governess, Mme de Grenoble, showed them how to create an album. One of the prints they inserted in the album was of Maria Edgeworth's library which became the topic of conversation:

> "... and Mamma says the present race of juvenile books are beautifully got up, and are more learned and travel farther, but Miss Edgeworth cultivated the heart and principles of truth and honour in home-life. Did you not say so Mamma?[28]

The children were rewarded with a rent-free space in their cosy nook but as in the works of More and Edgeworth, Hall encouraged their moral motivation through a reward system agreed by adults and children alike. If the children lost their temper, spoke sharply or told tales, they were liable for graduated penalties in the form of modest financial forfeits, so the creation of an atmosphere of mutual respect and justice prevailed. The children modelled their experience on the kindly, fair adults, most importantly Mrs Dacre, the lynchpin

of the story. As in Sarah Trimmer's Fabulous Histories (1786), many parallels were drawn with animals, emphasising the necessity to care for them properly (Fig. 4.3).

There are moments of drama in Cosy Nook such as when they discovered the bones of a monkey, their Uncle's brave pet, Jacko, who had saved the crew of a ship from crashing into rocks (Fig. 4.4) or towards the end of the book when Reginald is blinded for several weeks after being struck by lightning. However, the thrust of the work reinforced the didactic content, accurately summarised in an assessment by Mitzi Myers of Mary Wollstonecraft's Original Stories, but equally applicable to this work by Hall:

> Colloquial dialogues and conversations, homely natural and household detail, anecdotes of meaningful moral choice drawn from the everyday world – a taste for "truth" and middling life that blends domestic realism and portraits of domestic heroism into what might be called exemplary realism.[29]

Apart from the influences of Locke, Rousseau, More and Edgeworth, Hall's development as a didactic writer owed much to her sympathy for stories that owed their format to an earlier era.

Fig. 4.3 "At the Sea-Shore" by Lawson. Chronicles of Cosy Nook (1875).
Fig. 4.4 "The Monkey's Watch" by Lawson. Chronicles of Cosy Nook (1875).

> But, save that the subjects must be varied, and that everybody tells even the same tale a different way, and that young folks love variety – save and except all these things – I like the old stories far more than the new.[30]

In "The 'Not' Family," Hall acknowledged her debt to Barbauld's "Chapter on Misses"[31] when she introduced her readers under the guise of "A Letter to Miss Mary Cunningham," to Master Will Not, Miss Can Not, Master Did Not , Miss Said Not and Miss May Not.[32] This allegorical approach, coupled with her use of aptronyms or label names was also evident in "Jenny Careless and Jane Careful." She was influenced by books that had a profound impression on her as a child, such as John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (1678) or the likes of Jack Careless and Jeffery Squander in Mary Ann Kilner's William Sedley (c. 1783). The reader knows exactly what to expect in Hall's story, with characters such as Mrs Medium who visits Jenny and Jane, Sober Sam the footman and James Prudence.[33]

The legacy of the "Rational Dames" and "The Cursed Barbauld Crew" is seen in Hall's unapologetic embrace of the didactic genre. As Myers has shown, the didactic writers accepted the instructive and intellectual potential of their narratives and their assumption that if their power was properly channelled it could transform the nation. Wollstonecraft's Mrs Mason could "redefine power as the realisation of internal capacities, as spiritual aspiration, as pedagogic and philanthropic power."[34] However, Clarke has shown how these positive aspirations were to be diluted by society which applauded the "vague, emotional and uncertain" childish woman rather than "an unapologetic adult voice based on reason, authority and precision."[35]

The next section of this chapter demonstrates how Hall's own childhood ironically embodied many of the more enlightened aspects of the theories outlined above, reinforcing Hall's convictions about childhood education.

Hall's Childhood Experiences of Education

Hall frequently alluded to her childhood experiences growing up in the rambling country house in Wexford in writings such as Sketches of Irish Character (1829

and 1831), Chronicles of a School Room (1830), Grandmamma's Pockets (1849) and The Playfellow and other stories (1866). Accordingly, it is possible to confirm that she was educated at home while living in Wexford. The fictitious governess, Mrs Ashburton, addressed the young author at the end of Chronicles of a School Room:

> It's well for you, my dear, who have never been at school, to smile at the privations children endure at petty seminaries; but to them, believe me, it is no laughing matter. Nothing calls so loudly for reform as public schools.[36]

Keane has suggested that Hall might have attended some kind of finishing school in London as her description of the boarding school in Marian was authentic.[37] Keane also referred to the diary belonging to Richard Boyse, who recorded that George Carr (his grand-uncle) had paid for Hall's schooling in England.[38] I have not located any other source to confirm what she did for her first few years in London when she left Ireland. She was at the age when a finishing or boarding school might have been considered. However, if we are to take her own comments in her narratives seriously, she was too pampered either to attend a school or to be assigned a governess.

> As I was too great a pet in after life to be separated from kind and affectionate relatives I never attributed my being educated at home to its real cause, - their peculiar tenderness but to the cruelty of governesses, to whom, of course, I could not be entrusted. I heartily hope that all my young friends may have their prejudices removed in so agreeable a manner as were mine; thanks to my aged friend.[39]

Hall was not always entirely reliable as a narrator as, like most authors, she mixed fact and fiction, frequently expressing her preference for fiction.[40] However, as she was an only child, the most probable explanation was that Hall was home-educated as this was what she consistently recommended as the preferred option for young women in her writings.[41] She certainly had private tutors such as Master Ben and others to supplement her education in Bannow. It was most likely that this continued when she moved to London, coupled with

the role her mother played in her education which would have obviated the need for a full time governess.

It is possible to surmise from her semi-autobiographical writings, in particular Grandmamma's Pockets, her educational attainments at a point when she was "a long way from her 'teens'."[42]

> Annie could repeat great quantities of poetry, had read a great deal, spoke French fluently, played very well on the old piano, and as she had an excellent master to teach her arithmetic, she ought to have been a good arithmetician.[43]

She loved reading fairy tales and hearing the fairy stories told by old Frank the coachman and his daughter who was her maid as a child.[44] Her childhood in Bannow held particular significance for her fairytales:

> I can hardly tell why, but Bannow, in my remembrance, always seems like fairy-land – its fields so green – its trees so beautiful – its inhabitants so different from any I have elsewhere met.[45]

Her grandfather let her stay up late to hear him read Spenser's Faerie Queen, Milton's Paradise Lost and Sir Walter Scott's poems. Her favourite Shakespearean plays were The Tempest and Midsummer Night's Dream. She read them over and over again and acted out scenes from the plays with her dolls and her pets.

> She knew his play of the Tempest by heart; and in the long moonlight evenings of summer, as well as in the stormy ones of winter, she had often arranged the chairs in the old nursery, giving them the names of Miranda and Ferdinand – calling a grim old cabinet Prospero, an iron tripod Caliban, and a beautiful little bronze Mercury, Ariel.[46]

Judging by the list of books cherished by the heroine of Marian, it would be fair to surmise that Hall thought highly of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments.[47] She also described how Barbara Hofland's The Son of Genius (1812) had been "one of my first story-books."[48] The Bible was predictably a vital and ever present constant in her books and likewise, in numerous stories for children, she extolled the beauty of the "pretty hymns of

Dr. Watts."[49] Appendix E provides extracts of relevant passages from Hall's writings, giving an overview of books either read by Hall as a child or most likely to have been recommended reading for children of her era. Her mother ensured that she had plenty of entertainment after her lessons were over each day: "judicious books were left upon the always open piano, and I was encouraged to keep pets, provided I attended myself to their wants."[50]

Hall jokingly referred to her difficulty with arithmetic on several occasions. Her self-deprecating attitude was more than likely a "womanly" ploy as she appeared to have no difficulty managing the family finances in her married life. Master Ben, the local schoolmaster was engaged to try to teach her the multiplication table, "an act no mortal man (or woman either) ever could accomplish."[51] She had the utmost respect for him:

> His steps were strides: his voice shrill, like a boatswain's whistle; and his learning – prodigious! – the unrivalled dominie of the country, for five miles round, was Master Ben.[52]

Hall described his school (Figs. 4.5-4.6), his range of students, his anxiety for the welfare of his pupils and the "two severe trials" that he underwent when Hall was around ten years old, that is, tutoring her in maths and falling in love with Peggy O'Dell, a servant at the big house. Hall was fascinated with the background of this particular kind of school master:

> a poor scholar - a class of students, peculiar, I believe, to Ireland, who travel from province to province, with satchels on their backs, containing books and whatever provisions are given them, and devote their time to study and begging.[53]

She was struck by the fact that even the poorest peasant would always share a last potato with a wandering scholar such was the regard for knowledge and its value. A later sketch entitled "The Schoolmaster's Dream"[54] told the tale of the schoolmaster at Killgubbin, James O'Leary, and the pride he took in the pupils, especially those he coached in Latin and Greek. It related his increasing miserliness towards itinerant scholars but a cautionary dream helped him mend his ways. In another tale called "The Poor Scholar," the young wandering scholar, Patrick O'Brien, was taken in by a later teacher in Bannow, Mr

MASTER BEN.

Fig. 4.5 "Master Ben" by H. MacManus. Sketches (1844).
Fig. 4.6 "The Irish School" by H. MacManus. A. H. R. A. [c. 1840].[55]

Devereux, and groomed for Maynooth. Likewise, the generosity of the community towards O'Brien knew no bounds.[56]

The threat to such schoolmasters as Master Ben and O'Leary, with the advent of the National Schools, was a consideration from the 1830s onwards in Ireland.[57] However, James O'Leary had nothing to worry about as the old landlord in the area was "as decided an enemy to the National Schools as James himself; and the matter dropped without O'Leary's having had an opportunity of 'flooring the boord'. The landlord may have wanted to keep things as they were, as a new system might have put extra demands on the landowners, hence the lack of enthusiasm for change.

Master Ben was not the only tutor called upon to supplement Hall's education. According to her tale "The Old Drawing Master" she had classes with her French landscape tutor Monsieur Louis Auguste La Trobe for an hour and half daily.

> "Ah! Bah! Mademoiselle, and you call dat a copie? ...you can copie ver well de Irish womans, vid dere childs on dere backs, and dere pipes in dere mouths – and de Irishmens, vid spades and pigs – and boats and ships – vy you not de landscapes? – vy you not do landscapes? – vy you not copie?[58]

Although Hall was a great lover of art, this was a rare reference to her own skill at drawing. Her talent at sketching was put to good use on her travels around Ireland. The Halls often referred to quick sketches they did that they passed on to one or other of their official artists. In "A Sketch at Glengariff" the young deaf and dumb boy, Mogue Murphy, looks through their portfolio:

> Nothing could exceed his delight while turning over a few sketches and some engravings. He gave us clearly to understand that he comprehended their intent, looking from our puny outlines, to the magnificent mountains by which we were surrounded.[59]

Consistent with the romantic view of the countryside and the many advantages for children reared in such a healthy environment, Hall described the close affinity she developed with the world of nature, despite her early envy of London and the bustle of city life. She found great joy in experiencing the

different seasons in the countryside while her mother painted a negative picture of pale, sickly town children forced to endure late nights, dancing before crowds and the discomforts of hot theatres where children "looked at the stage until their eyes ached."[60] The city life could never compare with the freshness of green fields, the sea air and the ever changing natural world of her Bannow childhood. Maureen Keane acknowledged how poems such as James Thomson's Seasons (1730) and William Cowper's The Task (1785) were important influences through to the early nineteenth century not only portraying the picturesque aspects of the landscape for those sufficiently well-off to have time to enjoy it but also for evoking the countryside as God-given and closer to spirituality compared to the man-made evils widely prevalent in city life.[61] Rousseau's association of the city with corrupt society became an oft-quoted theme running through Hall's work.

To summarise, Hall's childhood education was to have a profound effect on her throughout her life. The stability of learning her lessons at home and the freedom of the natural world all around her provided the perfect childhood environment. The combination of fairytales from her servants, lessons at home with her tutors and the reading of literary classics with her grandparents and mother, combined to give her a well-rounded education. Literature, music and art all formed part of her home schooling but the freedom to use her imagination was of inestimable value. She believed that the experience of her own childhood education was a model that could be adopted by others. In many ways it reflected in a practical way the ideals of Locke, Rousseau, Edgeworth and others. At every opportunity, she reinforced these views in her many stories.

School Stories and Governesses Stories

Introduction

School stories as a genre had their gestation in the mid-eighteenth century.[62] Sarah Fielding's The Governess (1749) and John Newbery's publication Goody Two Shoes (1765) were early examples of the moral tale within a school setting. These were followed by Dorothy Kilner's The Village School (c. 1795), Maria Edgeworth's The Barring Out (1796) and Elizabeth Sandham's The Boys

School (1800) at the turn of the century. By the time Hall penned her school stories, it was an accepted subject within which to explore behaviour, friendships and adventures, invariably couched in didactic terms. In the mid-nineteenth century many of Charles Dickens's novels such as Nicholas Nickleby (1839), Dombey and Son (1848) and David Copperfield (1850) had school story elements. Jane Eyre (1847) was one of the most celebrated with Tom Brown's Schooldays by Thomas Hughes (1857) one of the most influential.

Hall's stories depicted school masters, school mistresses and governesses and they were illustrated by a variety of Irish and English artists (Figs. 4.5-4.14). There are particularly striking comparisons to be made between earlier and later depictions both of "Holyday Time" (Figs. 4.7-4.8) and "The Young Rebel" (Figs. 4.10-4.11). "Holyday Time" captures the carnivalesque nature of the celebrations when the boys were rewarded for their honesty with a day off. Somewhat at odds with the more usual emphasis on school discipline, captured (with a sense of fun) by the two artists of (Figs. 4.10-11), the illustrations exude a liberating and anti-authoritarian exuberance. The author witnesses the scene at the door in (Fig. 4.7):

> I peeped through the door – such a scene of confusion – books, hats, and slates, scattered over the floor... James Leighton was seated in the state chair, had got on Mr. Martin's nightcap, spectacles, and dressing-gown; and was imitating the sniffling tone and voice of the old ballad-singer.[63]

This section focuses on aspects of education for women, the decision as to whether to educate at home or at school; Hall and Dickens and their correspondence on education; and finally a discussion on governesses.

Education for Women: Home or Away

Significantly, Hall's earliest full-length publication, Chronicles of a School Room (1830), revealed her commitment to education for young women. She indicated in her dedication to Mrs Hofland that the stories within were "not for childhood but for those emerging from it."[64] As in many of her stories, the author set out to convince the reader that there was an element of autobiographical truth

HOLIDAY TIME.

London. Published for the Proprietors of the Juvenile Budget, 300 and 300

CAN WRONG BE RIGHT ?

THE SCHOOLMASTER AT HOME

Fig. 4.7 Top left. "Holyday Time" by H. Browne. The Juvenile Budget (1840).

Fig. 4.8 Top right. "Holiday Time" by Henry Richter. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830).

Fig. 4.9 Left. "The Schoolmaster at Home" by H. Browne. "Can Wrong Be Right?" St. James Magazine 1861.

framing the structure. The author was staying in Littlehampton in Sussex, recovering from a serious illness. She made the acquaintance of Mrs Ashburton who became a constant companion during her convalescence. She was a governess and the chronicles referred to the governess's recollections of some of the most memorable children under her tutelage over the course of thirty years.

There were seven stories in all, providing the reader with insight into a diverse selection of students. Marie de Jariot had fled from the French Revolution, Millicent O'Brian was of Irish descent, May Douglas a Scottish Laird's daughter, Laura and Dinah Van Leydon from Bengal, the quaker Zillah Penrose who had made the long journey by ship from America with her father and Clara and Anna Damer, the twins, one who was born blind (Clara) and the other deaf (Anna). The diversity of her chosen subjects and their geographical spread added to the reader's interest, underlining in the process the breadth and superiority of the British Empire. The device of focusing on one character's tale at a time could easily have its origins in the much-imitated formula adopted by Fielding in The Governess, or The Little Female Academy (1749) where each of the nine pupils at Mrs Teachum's establishment had the opportunity to tell their story.

In Hall's Chronicles, Mrs Ashburton narrated each story, addressing her companion, the young Hall. At the end of each chapter, the authorial voice of the thirty-year-old Hall interjects to give a lesson to the reader on some useful aspect of nature, not always clearly related to the preceding story. In this way the reader is rather unexpectedly treated to such diverse topics as a ten-page account of birds, an eight-page discussion on Hall's distaste for fox-hunting and a seven-page lesson on flowers.[65] In some chapters the transition within the tale, from the narrative to the practical lesson is smooth, such as in the story of Zillah Penrose where the advent of autumn leads naturally to a discussion of winter evenings and fireside amusements. However in other areas, in particular the first story, the transition is abrupt, the moral messages are multiple and it is exceedingly long in ratio to the initial story. Hall's aim appeared to be to provide parallels within the natural world with those in her fictional accounts. Fielding's

The Governess and Trimmer's Fabulous Histories (1786) were models for such tales featuring a combination of factual commentary and fictional accounts.

The question whether to educate young girls at home or away was a regular predicament in many of Hall's stories. In The Whisperer (1850), Aunt Tart the guardian of Clementine, Isabella and Edward, had a thorough dislike of girls' schools. At their very best, she considered them necessary evils. In The Swan's Egg (1851), Miss Lyddy confided her worries to Simon, the Irish servant, about the education of Kate and Jane and his advice, as always, was solid, that "a young bird learns best in its own nest."[66]

Hall's most extensive treatment of the boarding school genre was in Marian (1840), the story of a foundling who was taken into a wealthy household. Marian was a novelty for Mrs Cavendish Jones until she tired of her and abandoned her to Miss Arabella Womble's establishment. Womble was the epitome of the heartless money-grabbing school mistress, always ready to exercise petty tyrannies to save money and torment her charges. The loss of Marian's treasured books which were confiscated and thrown onto the fire as a punishment, was a pivotal act demonstrating the irrational behaviour of the Womble philosophy. Half-starved under a harsh and unenlightened regime, Marian ended up with an education that was "superficial and frequently erroneous; ... which left her much to undo in after-life."[67] In the novel, Hall deplored the system of female education available for girls:

> The mania that possesses many rational persons in middle life, to send their young daughters from their comfortable homes to a third or fourth-rate starving and perverting academy, that they may imbibe a little bad French and a little tuneless music, which is of no earthly use afterwards, is truly a matter for marvel.[68]

Hall was not the only author expressing her concerns about education at this period, as will be seen in the next section.

Hall and Dickens: An Important Letter

On the same page as the above quotation in Marian, Hall included a footnote observing that "Mr Dickens has since directed public attention to the 'system,'

which too frequently ruins both mind and body, at ill-conducted schools." Nicholas Nickleby was serialised from April 1838-October 1839 and as Hall pointed out in her footnote, her own work was "written and in the hands of the publisher upwards of a year ago." Therefore, her preoccupation with schooling coincided with the period of Dickens's concerns. Dickens had visited Yorkshire in January 1838 with his illustrator Hablot Browne, having just signed an agreement with Chapman and Hall.[69] He described in a diary entry for 2 February 1838, the infamous Mr Shaw who ran Bowes Academy[70] and the fact that two parents had recently been awarded damages of £300 against Shaw. Their sons had been blinded due to neglect. Shaw and Bowes Academy inspired the creation of the villainous bully Wackford Squeers, headmaster at the appalling Dotheboys Hall in Nicholas Nickleby.

Although Hall's letter to Dickens has not survived, his letter to her, dated 29 December 1838 has,[71] and it confirmed that Shaw was indeed the prototype for Squeers. "The identical scoundrel you speak of, I saw – curiously enough. His name is Shaw." He thanked her for her letter:

> I am exceedingly obliged to you for your kind note, and the interesting anecdote which you tell so well. I have laid it by in the MS of the first number of Nickleby, and shall keep it there in confirmation of the truth of my little picture.

The full text of Dickens's letter to Hall is reproduced in Appendix F. Hall was evidently verifying some aspect of the Yorkshire Schools which referred to one and the same Shaw.[72] Dickens described how he added as much humour to his novel "rather than disgust and weary the reader with its fouler aspects." He added a preface to the 1848 edition of Nicholas Nickleby where he gave detailed information about his trip to the Yorkshire Schools ten years earlier in order to highlight the dreadful state of the school system as it was in Yorkshire:

> Yorkshire schoolmasters were the lowest and most rotten round in the whole ladder ... ignorant, sordid, brutal men, to whom few considerate persons would have entrusted the board and lodging of a horse or a dog.[73]

Both Hall and Dickens were driven by their social conscience to highlight difficulties evident in the educational system. Hall did not believe that "atrocities equal to those he describes are common at "Young Ladies' Establishments,"[74] and must have suggested that Dickens may have been exaggerating somewhat, which he denied in his reply. The conditions described in Marian, though unpleasant, were not comparable to the level of physical degradation found in Nicholas Nickleby. However, Arabella Womble was capable of inflicting mental and emotional abuse that was almost as harrowing as that described in Lowood in Charlotte Brontë's novel Jane Eyre (1847), published seven years after Marian.[75] Jane Eyre is one of English literature's best known governesses but the governess novel was a popular genre in the early nineteenth century, one that Hall revisited on many occasions as will be seen in this final section on her school stories.

Governesses

> I had taken it into my silly head that a school mistress must be a complication of severities; a union of pepper, mustard, and vinegar, without one kindly feeling in her composition ... a queen stork amongst helpless frogs; a female ogre! In short everything that was terrific and abominable.[76]

This quotation shows Hall's sense of humour as she recalled her own stereotypical impression of the school mistress. She was referring to how she was so pleasantly persuaded otherwise when she met Mrs Ashburton and was disavowed of her misconceived opinions. While the image of Dame Mabel Leigh's establishment as portrayed in particular by Hablot Browne (Fig. 4.10), would appear to confirm her earlier misgivings, Hall's text to "The Young Rebel" showed her warm affection for the old-fashioned governess. She had many valuable qualities and although "she ruled by the assistance of a large birch rod"[77] she was treated with respect and deference in the village of Callow. Hall was passionately committed to the cause of governesses and they played an extensive role in her literary fiction, for children and adults.

The governess novel could easily be considered as a genre of its own in

Fig. 4.10 "The School Mistress" (The Young Rebel) by H. Browne. The Juvenile Budget (1840).
Fig. 4.11 "The Young Rebel" by W. Holmes. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1829).

the nineteenth century according to Cecilia Wadsö Lecaros, not just as a sub-section of that of school stories with which it is often included.[78] According to M. Jeanne Peterson, there were over 25,000 governesses in England in 1851 but over 750,000 female domestic servants at the same period.[79] Kathryn Hughes in The Victorian Governess suggested that although the figure for governesses was a relatively-small proportion of nineteenth-century working women, she attracted a great deal of literary interest because she came from the same class as did the authors and library subscribers. The readers knew full well that a change in circumstances, the death of a father or political upheavals could mean that they were one step away from a similar fate or "one man away from the schoolroom," as Sally Mitchell described it in her review of Hughes's book.[80] A familiar figure therefore in many Victorian novels, the governess appeared in a high percentage of Hall's writings, most frequently depicting a heroine who had fallen on hard times, who proved her worth through her independence and hard work. The fascination with the governess stemmed from the fact that she was a middle class woman who had to work outside the home at a time when there were very few options available for those who had to work for a living. It

was socially acceptable to do this as it was a womanly job that took place within a family setting so it was not frowned upon.

In The Art-Union for July 1845, Hall gave an account of a visit to the Female School of Design at South Kensington. "What am I to do with my daughters? is the constant inquiry of parents in what is called the middle rank of life." Hall analysed the various options available, before assessing whether a career in design could offer a viable alternative. Top of her list was the governess option which, although genteel, offered a poor salary without any kind of pension or comfort on retirement. She deplored the life of the shop woman, another alternative, but one where the poor worker was left standing for over twelve hours a day in a hot, unhealthy environment. Then there were the crowded workrooms of milliners and dressmakers and she concluded: "We have not only long said, but long felt, how shocking it was that English women should work far harder than negro slaves." [81]

The governess could be treated very badly by her host family, neglected and treated as a servant and instantly forgotten when dismissed after completing her course of education of the young ladies of the family. Hall did a great deal of philanthropic work highlighting the plight of governesses including the publication of a book entitled Stories of the Governess (1852). This collection of stories encapsulated the range of Hall's views on the topic of governesses.[82] The first story "The Old Governess" described how two young women, Edith and Agnes Gascoigne, had carelessly forgotten their governess Miss Euphemia Maunsell who had fallen on hard times. They make amends and visit and assist her before she dies. The next story, entitled "The Governess" first appeared in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal in May 1842 and told the tragic story of the governess Emily Dawson and her arduous life (Fig. 4.12) at the home of one of the selfish Kensington ladies, a story full of misunderstandings and regrets leading ultimately to the death of the young heroine.[83] The final story in Stories of the Governess recounted the brief tale of "The Daily Governess" who worked long hours in and around the neighbourhoods of Fulham and Chelsea. While the above stories had poignant endings, Hall's governesses generally tended to have happier conclusions.

Sarah the heroine of "Turns of Fortune" found the hidden Will enabling her to return to her former home and a similar plot brought about the same happy dénouement for Gertrude Raymond in "Hospitality." After the heroine's harrowing period at boarding school where she had to work long hours teaching the pupils, Marian's fate took a decidedly more positive turn at the close of the novel. Governesses generally had three options open to them.

Fig. 4.12 "Scene from "The Governess." Artist unknown. Stories of the Governess (1852).

They could teach in a school (either their own or with other governesses), they could live at home and travel as a daily governess to their employer, or, as was most common between the 1840s-60s, they lived at the employer's home, teaching and providing companionship to the children. In Chronicles of a School Room, Hall's governess character, Mrs Ashburton, taught in her own school for thirty years. She generally had around six pupils at a time and during her thirty working years, she educated over 100 pupils. In salary terms, her income was £2,000 gross in all that time, averaging around £67 per year which may have been somewhat above the average. According to Peterson, a governess earned anything from £15-£100 per year but the average was around £20-£40 per year compared to an average low agricultural wage of the same era bringing in £30 per year.[84]

Hall dedicated her Chronicles of a School Room to Mrs Hofland, whom she admired greatly. "To follow in your footsteps is my ambition" she wrote in the dedication. Hofland had set up a boarding school early on in her career in 1806-07 to try and make a living but when this failed, she turned to writing fiction. Hofland's stories had reached so many of Hall's generation, and her easy ability to combine amusement and entertainment with an eye always towards practical improvement could have indicated the path to follow for the young Hall.

Fig. 4.13 Scene from "The Governess" by F. Goodall. Stories of the Governess (1852).

Hughes outlined that the accepted protocol for children's education was that a nurse cared for children up to the age of five. A preparatory governess tutored boys and girls up to the age of eight, teaching the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. Boys were then sent away to preparatory school once they reached the age of eight. Girls remained at home to continue lessons generally consisting of a combination of English, History, Geography, Music (Singing and Piano), Dancing, Drawing and Needlework. This continued for girls until the age of twelve when a finishing governess was employed to prepare the girls for their social debut when they reached the age of seventeen.[85]

The threat of the governess introducing a destabilising force within the family is explored by Lecaros and Hughes in detail. There was the perception that the position could be used by those lower in society to gain a foothold higher up the social ladder.[86] Hall had many Irish nannies, nurses, cooks and washerwomen in her fiction, but they never made it to the ranks of governess from the lower classes. Any Irish governesses who featured in her stories, such as Gertrude Raymond in "Hospitality,"[87] came from the Anglo-Irish class, usually women who needed an acceptable form of independent employment to

survive. There was also the question of religion and a Roman Catholic governess simply would not be acceptable to Hall. In a letter to Francis Bennock she outlined the clarity of her views on the topic:

> Mr Bennock, I like people to be firm and faithful in whatever they hope for – and a Roman Catholic who holds their creed as they ought to can hold faith with themselves. There are some Roman Catholics whom I love – but I would consider them only for domestic use.[88]

Whilst she respected those who upheld their religion faithfully, she had definite lines of demarcation beyond which she would not be drawn.

Fig. 4.14 Scene from "The Governess" by J. N. Paton. Tales of Woman's Trials (1847).

One of Hall's central preoccupations therefore was that of childhood education. Whilst her views on this subject emerge in a wide range of literary texts, they were succinctly expressed within the school story genre. The variety of her approaches to this genre have been examined: the Irish village school; the tutor visiting the local Big House; the traditional English village school; an outdoor experimental school as run by Daddy Dacre; and the poor standards of English boarding schools for young ladies. Hall championed home education for girls and deplored the limited choices available for young working women who often had no option other than to work as governesses. Through the genre of the school story, the reader is invited into an environment that resonates with familiarity. Such settings were used by Hall to launch the framed story or moral.

In a similar way, her animal stories usually took place within a recognisable domestic arena. A selection of her animal stories will now be explored to see how Hall develops her aims to encourage a sense of responsibility and character formation in her young readers.

Animal Stories

Introduction: Hall's Love of Animals

In keeping with Hall's desire to educate and entertain, it was not surprising that she wrote many moral tales featuring animals for children. Animal tales of one kind or another had existed in children's literature since the earliest days of writing for a young audience. Fables, bestiaries, chapbooks, alphabet books all featured birds and beasts of all kinds, mythological as well as actual.[89] The use of animals in children's books could serve a number of purposes: to educate a child about animals and their behaviour; to elucidate a moral; to comment on human nature and to teach respect towards the animal kingdom. Dorothy Kilner's The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse (1783), was one of the earliest books where animals either narrated or played a central role in the story. Animal stories flourished in the Victorian period, culminating towards the end of the century with such classics as Anna Sewell's Black Beauty (1877), Beatrix Potter's The Tale of Peter Rabbit (1893) and Rudyard Kipling's Jungle Books (1894 and 1895).

Animals were important to Hall and they appeared frequently in her stories for children. As an only child, they were particularly significant (Fig. 4.15):

> Annie had neither brother, sister, cousin, nor companions – that is to say, as she once said herself, 'human-being companions;' but a little cottage in the plantations was sacred to her favourites, and there she had a great number of birds and animals of many kinds.[90]

The long hours spent caring for her pets gave her direct and useful experiences which she was to call on in later life both for her fictional and non-fictional

publications. In her adult life she was never without a large collection of pets and visitors to their home commented on them,[91] Hall herself frequently alluded to them in her letters[92] and favourite pets were given pivotal roles time and again in her stories.[93] Dogs appeared in most stories written by Hall, often just incidental details adding to our understanding of her characters. Her description of the living room in Uncle Sam's Money-Box probably mirrored elements of her own household, with a cage full of foreign birds looking out onto the flower-garden, beautiful paintings on the walls, a spaniel on the hearthrug and a "little round-headed, round-eyed, round-nosed 'King Charles' curled itself into the corner of the sofa, and watched every movement of its beloved mistress."[94] In her children's books, animals featured in ways that aided her didactic purpose. The animal moral tale was a popular genre during this period and she adapted it to her purposes in two main ways that I interpret as either metaphoric or heroic.

Fig. 4.15 "Grandmamma's Pockets" by G. Millar. Grandmamma's Pockets (1849).

Metaphoric Animal Stories

In stories such as The Swan's Egg (1851), and "The First Sorrow "(1848?), animals were given metaphorical roles as parallel characters. These stories centred chiefly on the human characters but the animals were introduced to provide a comparative foil. One popular story, written as part of Chambers's Library for Young People, was The Swan's Egg, first published in 1851.[95] Jane and Kate Kemp were the adopted orphan nieces of Farmer Kemp whose

farming business suddenly fell on hard times. Impoverished, they had to accustom themselves to a more humble lifestyle. Jane, the worldly child who was ever-covetous of outward display, was thrilled that the supposed duck egg that the hen was trying to hatch turned out to be a swan's egg. She was ridiculed in the village for her high notions and the rest of the family suffered too. As the story unfolded, she dreamed of obtaining an ostrich egg as "she had once seen the picture of a negro seated between the wings of an ostrich, while the bird was striding away." Much to the servant Simon's horror, she confided to him her dreams of:

> ... mounting an ostrich , and riding to church, to her own especial delight, and as she, poor silly girl! imagined, the admiration of the whole neighbourhood.[96]

Predictably things turned out badly for Jane in the end. As with her taste in birds, she neglected to wear sensible double-soled shoes and a warm cloak, opting instead to wear fashionable paper shoes and a flimsy silk scarf (Fig. 4.16). She contracted consumption and died, unrepentant to the last in her desire for "pomps and vanities."[97] The final line in the tale confirms the moral of Hall's story "A lamb in a farmer's cottage is more in keeping than a SWAN'S EGG in a hen's nest."[98] The importance of appropriateness to one's station in life was a theme that ran through many of Hall's stories, stemming both from her Christian and conservative beliefs.

'There! – There is the proof of my Swan's Egg!'

Fig. 4.16 Scene with Jane and Kate. Artist unknown. The Swan's Egg (1890).

The death of a pet was often the first brush with mortality for young children and Hall addressed this in her tale The First Sorrow (Fig. 2.9) The loss of Maude's pet bird mirrored the imminent death of her older sister Julia. The story provided a moral about forcing children to become too accomplished.

Through the neglect of normal childish pursuits in favour of the acquisition of precocious skills, Julia's life was destroyed by thoughtless parents.

In Hall's view, animals mirrored society in another metaphoric manner. The hierarchy of pets in the Victorian world is a topic that has attracted recent debate. Harriet Ritvo has shown how some animals such as spaniels were scorned as mere lapdogs or comfort dogs for the rich whereas others were admired for their independence and intuitive nature. [99] The implications for studies of class and colonialism are pertinent. Ritvo referred to the Victorian preoccupation with animals, linking them to issues of domination and exploitation. For example, whippets raced by miners were viewed very differently from greyhounds raced by more genteel sportsmen. This class consciousness was evident in several of Hall's animal stories. In "The Playfellow," Hall described how Neptune, the pedigree, was in command, keeping the local peasants' "curs" in check:

> The cabin-curs in Ireland are great nuisances to whoever passes their doors, and besides being very insulting to strangers, are pugnacious amongst themselves: Neptune treated them with contempt, unless they assailed his friends, or fought together; then, indeed, he invariably interfered, seized the delinquent by the skin of the neck, shook it well and left it there.[100]

The pedigree dog, like the landlord class, knew his place in the hierarchy and acted accordingly. The question of class arose again in Midsummer Eve with Lady Elizabeth's astonishment that Keeldar, her dog, would associate with Eva (Fig. 4.17).

'You must know Keeldar well: he would hardly do so much to me; and they say his race never caress those who are not of gentle blood.' 'He does not lose caste by caressing a Raymond!' was Eva's reply - proud in words, but not in tone; it sounded a truth – not a boast.[101]

Fig. 4.17 "Keeldar, Eva and Lady Talbot" by F. Goodall. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Heroic Animal Stories

Hall's second strategy was to highlight the heroic and empathetic nature of animals, interpreting them as behavioural role models for children.
In these stories, the animals assumed a more central role, at least for particular episodes. Keeldar[102] the noble mastiff in Midsummer Eve saved all the passengers on the doomed ship "The Swift" when he swam to shore with the crucial rope that brought them to safety (Fig. 4.18). The little dog Shag in The Savoyards (1829), scrambled to a projecting ledge of rock and whined until he revealed the unconscious child in the snow as illustrated in the 1840 edition of The Juvenile Budget (Fig. 4.19).

Fig. 4.18 Top. "Keeldar rescuing passengers" by Thomas Landseer. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Fig. 4.19 Right. "Shag saving Hamish" by H. Browne. "The Savoyards" The Juvenile Budget (1840).

Neptune, modelled on Hall's own Newfoundland dog found his way into several stories, chiefly "The Playfellow" in which he saved a treasured sailing boat belonging to a sickly child (Fig. 4.20). Newfoundland dogs, like mastiffs, excelled as guard dogs and were used frequently in country houses. They were noted for their skill in water and their gentle temperament and disposition.[103]

Neptune's remarkable character was analysed by Hall as she related several stories to show his uncanny intelligence.[104]

Fig. 4.20 "The Playfellow" by Edwin Landseer. The Drawing-Room Table-Book (1848?).

Factual Writings about Animals

Another way Hall featured animals was through her factual writings, either as informative components within other tales such as at the end of each chapter in Chronicles of a School Room (1830) or a more deliberately focused text such as "Anecdotes of Birds" in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1832). The factual accounts often included moral elements in an emblematic form. Emblem books, where animals, birds or flowers had symbolic meanings, dated back to the early sixteenth century but they enjoyed a surge in popularity in the mid-Victorian century. In Chronicles of a School Room, Hall discussed the emblems of birds at the end of her first chapter on "Marie de Jariot." "Their different voices create corresponding feelings in my breast. Birds would form pretty emblems as well as flowers."[105] The emblems for the birds were easily understood by a Victorian audience: the croaking raven telling of mistrust and jealousy, the mischievous magpie pilfering from other nests, the vanity of the peacock and the humble hedge-sparrow "with its careful industry, tells a useful lesson to every young lady of thrift and good housewifery." Though not illustrated, her text was lively and like the factual texts at the close of each of the remaining chapters, it bore little or no relationship to the preceding story.[106] Exotic animals were sometimes

used to paint morals in her children's books. The camel in "The Savoyards" (4.21) is scoffed at by the spoiled Louise Frampton:

> How can you bear to look at that great ugly beast? For my part, I hate monkeys, and marmots, and dromedaries, and above all those miserable half-starved looking Savoyards.[107]

Fig. 4.21 "The Savoyards." Thomas Landseer. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1829).

By the end of the story, Louise finds out how erroneous these opinions were as the narrator describes the invaluable qualities of the camel in its native desert, in addition to the sad plight of the Savoyards. Her repentance is evident in Hall's final line of her story: "Louise wept – and was silent."[108]

Anthropomorphic Stories

Increasingly, after the mid-century, Hall experimented with an anthropomorphic voice, in particular with her editorial contributions to The Adventures and Experiences of Biddy Dorking, to which is added The Story of a Yellow Frog (1858) (Fig. 4.22) and to a lesser extent with Animal Sagacity (1868).[109] In fables, animals behave with human characteristics in order to demonstrate morals and the wisdom of

Fig. 4.22 "The Story of the Yellow Frog" by Harrison Weir. The Adventures and Experiences of Biddy Dorking (1858).

certain actions over others. Animal Sagacity included four stories by Hall: "The Three Bears;" "Gipsy and the Chickens;" "The Dog and the Nightingale;" and "Fidelity of the Dog." The illustrations by the notable animal and poultry painter Harrison Weir (1824-1906) in both of these publications added to their saleability and popularity.[110] The effect of Darwin's On the Origin of the Species (1859) was to draw ever closer analogies between hierarchies and definitions of what it meant to be human or "animal" and could have been a factor in the popularity of the anthropomorphic animal story.

Pet Memorials

The complex relationship of the Victorians with their pets took many forms. As human fears and desires could be transferred onto animals, giving voice to a variety of anthropomorphised animals, so too could animal memorials express anxieties of a different nature. In Marian, Lady Isabel was astonished at the number of stuffed animals in the old General's drawing room, including his son's favourite dog which was now "stuffed, lying upon a cushion."[111] Victorians were by no means the first to mourn their dead pets but it was a period that saw a proliferation in literature on mourning practises, a huge increase in animal memorials and a remarkable intensity of attachment to pets. Memorials could take the form of portraits, tombstones, epitaphs, poems, and stories or as in Marian, the skill of the taxidermist was called into play.[112] The variety of animals portrayed, how they were represented and the significance of animal painting in the Victorian era adds greatly to an understanding of her work and her audience.

Cruelty to Animals

Given her love and attachment for animals, Hall frequently addressed the need for respect towards animals and the avoidance of cruelty.[113] In The Whisperer, her main character, Cousin Jacob, berates Aunt Tart for the practise of smothering bees in order to obtain honey. It was common practise at the time but it provoked a lecture to the child characters on the outrages practised against nature:

> I am thinking of the present – the daily cruelties we practise. What right have we to urge the horse into the agonies of a steeple-chase? God gave us the noble animal to assist and facilitate our labours – not as the instrument of mere heartless amusement – esth! I cannot stroll down a green lane without hearing some brainless fellow fire off a gun – not to gain or give bread, but to destroy a singing bird, or useful rook, who ought to be considered the farmer's friend instead of being treated as his enemy. In the city, injustice and cruelty meet one in every street! Look at our overloaded and over-driven omnibuses![114]

Cousin Jacob's lecture continued with thoughts not only on the hardships of animals but also on the cruelties inflicted on poor people, toiling and starving in dreadful conditions. The central message that Hall wanted to convey was that although poverty existed, those better off had a duty to lighten the burden in whatever way possible through acts of kindness and humanity.

The darker side of the reality of cruelty to animals and the impact of contemporary debates on vivisection, killing and even zoo-keeping rarely appeared in Hall's writings as she was always mindful not to disturb her child readers with unsavoury subject matter. Nonetheless, her abhorrence and her "unalloyed pain" at the barbarity of hunting was the topic of her discussion at the end of her chapter entitled "Sweet May Douglas" in Chronicles of a School Room. She related two episodes from her own childhood when she saved a fox from being fed to the dogs and a hare from the baying dogs of the local hunt. However, not for her was the horror of Heathcliff's treatment of Isabelle's dog Fanny in Wuthering Heights (1847)[115] or Dickens's Bull's-eye in Oliver Twist (1838) where Sikes's dog was both victim and ruthless accomplice of his violent master.[116] The animal/human as disposable plaything and victim of domestic abuse was explored by Hall in her novel Marian where the pampered Mrs Cavendish Jones regularly took up with a new pet before tiring of it once the novelty wore off. Just as the puppy or the macaw eventually got on her nerves, so also did the heroine and Marian was sent away to school out of her sight.

Hall wrote numerous stories in which animals played a central role. Animals were always important in her life, especially as an only child living in the countryside. She used animals as metaphors in many of her children's books, they regularly fulfilled heroic roles and she was well-read on the factual details about animals, especially birds. She experimented with anthropomorphic writing, gave insights into animal care and pet memorials and deplored cruelty to animals. Animal stories drew artists of high calibre to her publications adding to their visibility and saleability. Above all, they were an attractive and perennially child-friendly medium in which to couch her moral tales. The next section will focus on how Hall approached the realm of fantasy to further her didactic aims through a study of her fairytales and ghost stories.

Fairytales

Fantasy and Fairytales: Introduction

Firstly, there is a need to explore the relationship between mimesis and fantasy before addressing Hall's fairytales. Kathryn Hume has lamented the distrust shown towards fantasy in Western thought since classical times and has highlighted the need to redress the balance. She referred for example to how Aristotle judged the success of a work by how probable its events and characters were, and his rejection of otherworldly gimmicks and ploys such as the *deus ex machina*. However, Hume described literature as the product of two impulses: mimesis and fantasy. Firstly, mimesis was "the desire to imitate, to describe events, people, situations and objects with such verisimilitude that others can share your experience." Secondly, fantasy was "the desire to change givens and alter reality – out of boredom, play, vision, longing for something lacking..."[117] Hume argued strongly for recognition of both impulses. Within the many genres and forms of literature, each had a characteristic blend of both mimesis and fantasy. These varied interpretations of mimesis, either describing an active learning imitative process on one side of the literary coin with fantasy its corresponding partner, inform the discussion in this section.

Hall engaged with the imaginary during a key period in children's literature, when the fashion for the practical and rational was being gradually

superseded by a fascination with inner worlds and fantasy. The term fantasy has been defined succinctly by Kathryn Hume: "Fantasy is any departure from consensus reality."[118] C. W. Sullivan III defined it as a literary term that "refers to possibilities limited, at least initially, only by the author's own imagination and skill as a storyteller."[119] As shown in Chapter 3, Hall had a different approach to Maria Edgworth who did not see any role for the imagination in literature for the young.[120] Hall's interest in otherworldly happenings and activities emanated in part from her religious beliefs and manifested itself in her moral tales where angels were frequently mentioned and illustrated with dramatic effect. Despite her regular references to angels, and given Hall's extensive knowledge of folklore and the oral storytelling tradition, she was far more attracted to writing about those mischievous and unpredictable secular winged creatures, the fairies of her native land. Rather than adopting an overtly religious approach therefore, she preferred to bring out the didactic elements of her children's fantasy tales through these creatures who were enjoying great popularity in literary and artistic circles.

The Arrival of the Literary Fairytale

The literary fairytale arrived in England rather later than in other countries such as France and Germany, and this delay has been attributed by commentators such as Jack Zipes and Stella Beddoe[121] to the rise of Puritanism in the post Civil War period. For different reasons, influential writers such as Maria Edgeworth and Sarah Trimmer, frowned on oral folk and fairytales and considered them to be unsuitable for young middle class readers. Trimmer actively condemned fairytales in her periodical The Guardian of Education (1802-06), and Edgeworth, along with her father and co-author, dismissed the genre.[122] Edgeworth's philosophy was based on a rational approach to education whereas Trimmer's preference was for greater emphasis on religious and instructional material. In an article in The Art-Union in 1846 on the subject of "Thoughts on Juvenile Illustrated Literature," Hall referred to the books she read as a child such as The Seven Champions, Beauty and the Beast and Cinderella. Then, "when fairytales all of a sudden were considered foolish if not

injurious, I had no reason to complain of the change from "Beauty and the Beast" to Maria Edgeworth's "Early Lessons" and Mrs Hofland's "Son of a Genius."[123] As an avid and eclectic young reader, Hall appeared to be adaptable. Whilst evidently familiar with the charms of fairytales, she enjoyed the portrayal of real-life events in works by the latter authors, both of whom she admired greatly.

However, oral tales and customs survived amongst the peasants, and this is one major reason why Hall was attracted to the customs and tales of the Irish peasantry. While she emphasised the importance of instruction, she also championed the desirability of entertainment as an important ingredient in the mix. Unlike Trimmer and Edgeworth, Hall found that she could reconcile Christian mores coexisting in a fairytale medium. Hall's experiments with fairytales can be considered in the context of an evolving and important stage in the development of the English fairytale tradition. From the 1820s there was a growing shift towards an acceptance of fantasy for children brought about by the influx of newly translated works from abroad. Edgar Taylor translated German Popular Stories by the Grimm Brothers in 1823, Edward Lane's Arabian Nights appeared from 1838-40 and Mary Howitt translated Hans Christian Andersen's Wonderful Stories for Children in 1846. Children and adults wanted books that stimulated their imagination. The stage was set for the growth of more fanciful literature for children that would culminate later in the Victorian period with such important works of fantasy as Charles Kingsley's The Water Babies (1863), Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865) and George MacDonald's At the Back of the North Wind (1871).

From the early 1840s, fairytales were found to be ideal vehicles for inculcating didactic lessons. They were closely related to early instructional writings, though now clothed in more contemporary dress. Zipes has outlined how fairytale worlds moved in two directions from 1860 to the end of the century: either towards conventionalism, where the plots upheld the status quo of Victorian society; or those that were more utopian in outlook. The latter approach recognised the power of the imagination and how it could alter lives in a more radical way.[124] Hall, working in the 1840s, was writing from the former

perspective. At the heart of both of her major fairytales, Midsummer Eve and The Prince of the Fair Family (1867) is a conventional concern with the moral growth of the central protagonists. The challenges set throughout the tales point towards the necessity of behaving in a certain way in order to achieve happiness. The distractions provoked by the fairies were not profoundly threatening and the morals were by no means heavily disguised. In Midsummer Eve, once the fairies were acknowledged, not ignored, and humoured rather than antagonised, the story continued with little or no interference from the fairies beyond the initial danger at Eva's birth and at important key moments coinciding with her birthdays. Hall took the local folklore as her starting point and fashioned fairies of her own to suit her tales. Honeybell and Nightstar, the fairy queens of day and night were her own creations in Midsummer Eve (Fig. 4.23), as were King Rosemary and Queen Foam in The Prince of the Fair Family (Fig. 4.24).

There is a definite relationship between folklore and fairytales. Anne Markey demonstrated how the term "folklore" only came into being when the English antiquary William John Thomas wrote an article for The Athenaeum in 1846 under the pseudonym Ambrose Merton. She quoted his definition of folklore as the "manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs &c. of the

Fig. 4.23 "Honeybell and Nightstar" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).
Fig. 4.24 "Queen Foam" by E. M. Ward. The Prince of the Fair Family (1867).

olden times."[125] In his introduction to Locating Irish Folklore, Diarmuid Ó Giolláin noted the "homeliness and vagueness of the term folklore" and sees it as "a branch of learning devoted to the study of residual peasant culture, to popular culture in general, or to the verbal art of small groups."[126] Whereas fairytales have often been passed on through the generations by word of mouth as were folkloric traditions, Humphrey Carpenter clarified that fairytales differed in that they showed "the influence of literary treatment" and that they were penned by identifiable authors or collectors.[127] In this way, fairytales are a sub-division of folk literature. For example, Grimm's fairytales came to fruition after the Grimm brothers gathered extensive folk literature from which they sourced their own creations. The nineteenth-century vogue for gathering and compiling such tales in order to make them widely available sets the scene for Hall.

For Hall, fairytales were useful in many ways. They were a nostalgic reminder of the characters and storytellers of her childhood. She was interested in the tales from an antiquarian point of view, and the stories helped to enliven their travel books of Ireland. Finally, they were an important inspiration and resource for her sketches and novels. The next section of this chapter focuses on Midsummer Eve, providing a case study of her first and only full-length Irish fairytale. It will be discussed under three main areas: firstly the importance of Killarney as a setting; secondly the varied influences on the narrative (Shakespearean, German, and Irish), the use of the changeling motif, and the intermediary "fairy man;" and thirdly the extensive use of illustration against a backdrop of a flourishing vogue for fairy painting. The structure facilitates an in-depth analysis of one significant fairytale in order to determine its efficacy as a didactic novel in addition to assessing its commercial potential for Hall. Midsummer Eve represented an intermediary stage between rationality and fantasy in mid-nineteenth century children's literature. Despite her commitment to the fairytale genre, Hall retained a firm hold on the real world. Both of her full-length fairy novels reveal characteristics of low fantasy. Episodes of the supernatural intrude into the real, primary world compared to high fantasy, which is set chiefly in a secondary parallel fantasy world.[128] This reluctance to fully engage with alternative realities may have been a factor holding her back

from the kind of success enjoyed by authors of more innovative fantasies later in the century.

Case Study: Midsummer Eve: Setting

The setting of Killarney was an important choice for Hall (Figs. 4.25-4.26)). Between the years 1825-41, the Halls made five tours of Ireland, visiting each county in turn and their observations culminated in Ireland. Following this work, they produced A Week at Killarney (1843) and A Companion to Killarney (1878). In addition to serving as travel books, these publications highlighted history, social conditions, customs and legends associated with the area.[129] The Halls knew the vicinity well so it was no coincidence that she used Killarney as a setting for Midsummer Eve. The combination of its setting, the backdrop of Muckross, Mangerton, the Eagle's Nest and the savagely wild Gap of Dunloe generated a powerful sense of place.

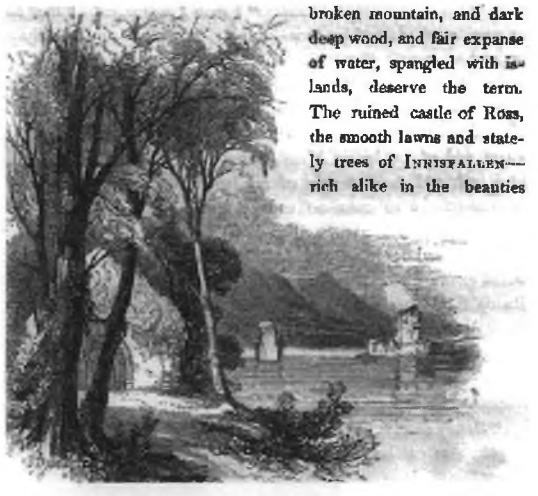


Fig. 4.25 "Muckross Abbey by Moonlight" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).
Fig. 4.26 "Ruined castle of Ross and trees of Innisfallen" by F. W. Hulme. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Hall was not the first person to use the setting of Killarney for a tale of this kind. Daniel Maclise attended a play in Drury Lane on 20 April 1829 entitled "Tiernan Oge" which was set in Killarney and featured many fairies.[130] As Maclise was such a good friend of the Halls – it was likely that they had seen this play also. The Halls and Thomas Crofton Croker had introduced Maclise to an extensive literary and artistic circle when he arrived in London on 18 July 1827.[131] Earlier tourist literature on Killarney undoubtedly influenced the Halls'

own views on Killarney. The town had attracted many artists and poets in the eighteenth century and in their guidebooks, they generously acknowledged the influences of Isaac Weld (1774-1865) and their friend Crofton Croker who had written extensively on the legends associated with the region. With Midsummer Eve, Hall was ambitious in her attempt to bring to fruition a romantic tale in a romantic setting, peopled both by real and supernatural beings

One of the famous legends associated with Killarney was that of the O'Donoghue, and Crofton Croker included an account of this legend in his section on "Thierna Na Oge."[132] O'Donoghue was a Gaelic chieftain associated with Ross Castle and there were many legends about his life and death. He was believed to live in a state beyond life or death below the lake at Killarney, but each May morning at dawn, he rode a white horse around the lake, intervening in human affairs and attended by sylphs and fairies. The image used of O'Donoghue in Crofton Croker's book was the same engraving that the Halls used when referring to the legend in Ireland and A Week at Killarney (Fig. 4.27). When Hall wrote about it in Midsummer Eve, it was rendered by an attractive new wood engraving by John Franklin (Fig. 4.28).

Fig. 4.27 "Vision of O'Donoghue" by J. R. Herbert. Ireland vol. 1 (1841).
Fig. 4.28 "The O'Donoghue" by J. Franklin. Midsummer Eve.

Hall referred repeatedly to the legends and folklore of Ireland, to the pookas and banshees she first encountered in the tales told by her servants in Wexford and later in the writings of Crofton Croker and Thomas Keightley (1789-1854). The Halls included a five-page discussion of the pooka, "pre-

eminent in malice and mischief"[133] in Ireland. Nightstar, the fairy in Midsummer Eve, feared for Eva's safety when she saw the "frightful Phooca [sic], the enemy of all good" riding in the moonlight [134] and Cormac's favourite horse "had been nearly ridden to death by the Phooka the night before he wanted it for the field." [135]

Fig. 4.29 "The Pooka" by J. Bell. Ireland vol. 1(1841).
Fig. 4.30 "The Frightful Phooca" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Likewise, the image of "The Banshee" by John Franklin (Fig. 4.31), used in Crofton Croker's publication, was reproduced in Hall's Midsummer Eve but the latter publication also has another graceful image of the spectral Banshee moving towards Muckross by painter Robert Huskisson that announced the death of Cormac Talbot, one of the main characters. (Fig. 4.32).

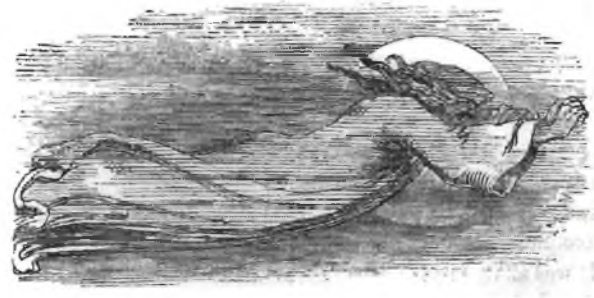


Fig. 4.31 "The Banshee" by J. Franklin. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Fig. 4.32 "The Banshee" by R. Huskisson. Midsummer Eve (1848).

In a review of Sketches at Killarney and Glengariff by C. N. Bolton in The Art-Union in February 1848, S. C. Hall described how there were so many examples of the grand and the beautiful in the Killarney area, with:

> The Gap of Dunloe being an example of the grand and the Old Weir Bridge an example of the beautiful, while of ruins, such as those of Aghadoe and Mucross [sic], the shores of The Lakes afford us plenty.

The Halls were familiar with the theories of the sublime and beautiful as set out by the widely-read aestheticians of the eighteenth century, Edmund Burke (1729-97), Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) and Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829). Torc Waterfall, which could be seen through the window of the heroine's home, Dovecote Cottage[136] in Midsummer Eve, epitomised sublimity, a high point in the itineraries of tourists and travellers who sought the civilised thrill of awesome scenery. The use of ruined abbeys and castles in topographical prints and poetry was common in the early-nineteenth century. The vogue for studying and recording antiquities began in earnest in the eighteenth century when tourists throughout Europe visited picturesque areas. Societies emerged and numerous publications illustrated the antiquities for emerging middle class readers. As Belinda Loftus has argued:

> Popular pictures of Ireland's historic relics were calculated to instil a vague and general nostalgia for the past, rather than pride based on exact knowledge of the specific splendours of individual artefacts.[137]

Commentators such as Luke Gibbons and Glenn Hooper interpreted the ruins rather as symbols of unresolved conflict, representing trauma and defeat at the hands of colonial powers.[138] Ruins therefore could represent painful memories in addition to objects of aesthetic appreciation or sentimental pleasure. For the Halls however, the ruins would not have provoked dismay as signifiers of colonial oppression and neglect as they were ardently pro-Union and their aesthetic sense of the picturesque was more traditional and mainstream.

Ruins and follies were often manufactured to suit fashionable taste in the eighteenth century and even seasoned recorders such as George Petrie (1790-

1866), the artist and antiquarian, was known to alter views for dramatic effect in search of the more picturesque and poetic view. The Halls in their travels to Ireland were keen to record their findings accurately and went to great lengths to do so despite potential dangers.[139] Likewise, in Midsummer Eve it is possible to pinpoint exactly where the heroine lived. Dovecote, the little cottage where Eva grew up with her mother was in the village of Cloghreen, not far from the Old Weir Bridge and Ross Castle and within view of Torc waterfall. It was near the entrance to the Muckross Estate which housed the old Abbey and was a major attraction for tourists. Ard-Flesk, the Big House in the novel, was likely to have been modelled on Lord Kenmare's House on the Muckross Estate.

Case Study: Midsummer Eve: Narrative

Hall created a distinctive sense of place in Midsummer Eve, confirmed both by the text and illustrations. The story itself, its sources and preoccupations is the focus of this section. Eva, the heroine of the story, was born on midsummer's eve and was the rightful property of the fairies according to folk legend, as her father had died before she was born. Saved at birth by benevolent fairies from being substituted with a changeling, each subsequent birthday saw her in imminent danger from the evil Kelpie Queen (Fig. 4.33) and her water fairies. They were alert to her weaknesses and attacked whenever she was near water where they had power over her.[140] Fairies both good and bad paralleled the battle for good and evil within the child as she matured but Eva remained steadfast.

Fig. 4.33 "The Kelpie Queen" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Hall used many of the motifs of the cautionary tale coupled with Christian, moralistic overtones. It is a triangular love story: two cousins, Sidney and Cormac Talbot vie for Eva Raymond's attention. It draws on familiar motifs such as the reversal of fortune and is replete with a Big House theme, jealous lovers

and mischievous fairies. Eva falls in love with Sidney who has the finer moral qualities, but their early married life is a struggle. Sidney, an aspiring artist, has to leave for London to try to establish his name. Not everything goes according to plan but despite all the odds, they return home to Ireland and inherit Ard-Flesk in Muckross. There is a strong moral sentiment throughout where those who give in to passions or who value material possessions at the expense of the spiritual fare badly in the story. The tale of the life of a simple but honourable country girl whose father had died before her birth echoed elements of Hall's own life in the country with her mother and no father figure.[141] Randy, the woodcutter in Midsummer Eve, assumed the role of the central male figure who watched over Eva, protecting her from supernatural danger, (Fig. 4.34). Like Hall, the heroine left her childhood home for London but Eva returned permanently at the end of the tale to live in Ireland.

Fig. 4.34 "The Woodcutter's Visit" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Hall stated in her introduction that the tale was about Eva's mind from "infancy to womanhood; the Good and Evil influences to which it is subjected; and the Trials inseparable from a contest with the World." It is a tale in which the protagonist grows and matures through adversities but by "loving and being beloved," her rewards are assured. In this section, I suggest several English, German and Irish sources for Midsummer Eve, concluding with an analysis of the changeling motif and the character of Randy, the fairy man.

Shakespeare's A Midsummers' Nights Dream (1595) was a definite source for Hall's Midsummer Eve as his plays were familiar to any well-read child of the period. In Grandmamma's Pockets, the young Annie Fielder knew it intimately:

> She began reading – perhaps for the twentieth time Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream; breathing on the

> leaves, that they might turn without crackling, and pausing every now and then to contrast some of its passages with the Faery Queen.[142]

Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué's German Romantic tale Undine (1811) was another possible source for Hall. Fouqué's novel was translated into English by George Soane in 1818 and was the subject of many illustrations and paintings by artists such as J. H. Fuseli (1741-1825) and Maclise.[143] Two engravings of Undine by the fairy painter Robert Huskisson, a favourite artist of the Halls, appeared in The Art-Union in 1846 and 1847, testifying to the popularity of the story. The themes in Undine and Midsummer Eve were similar: metamorphosis; a castle-versus-cottage lifestyle; and its emphasis on the dangers associated with the element of water. These may have inspired Hall subliminally. Instead of a male hero caught between two women, one mortal and the other a sylph-like mermaid, Hall has a central female heroine who must choose between two mortal suitors, the steady Sidney or the more volatile Cormac.

In one of Hall's "Pen and Ink Sketches" in The Art-Union entitled "Fairy Struck," she described a young servant named Mary Myler who was a great playfellow of the author's when she was a child in Wexford. She may have sown the seeds for Hall's tale and its association with the dangers of water:

> Mary had also a good store of tales, particularly about mermen and mer-maidens, and those she used to tell at all times, but especially when she attended my baths in the open sea. Mary certainly stimulated my imagination, and very sorry I was, and bitterly I cried, when Mary resolved to marry a merman-sort of sailor, who had come in an ugly black boat to the pretty new quay of Bannow.[144]

Mary Myler's marriage was not a success as her husband had deceived her and was already married, and Mary returned home with her beautiful child to Wexford. Sadly the child became "Fairy Struck" and wasted away despite all the prayers and potions and Mary died of a broken heart within minutes of her child's death. This story about her servant may have been based on fact but as

was her practice, she may have embellished the truth for dramatic effect. The tale was in turn inspired by a painting called Fairy Struck by the artist Frederick Goodall who had exhibited it in the British Institution that year.[145] This epidsode is an admirable example of Hall's ekphrastic writing. The story emerges from a discussion of a recently viewed painting illustrating the Irish superstition whereby a fine healthy child is "struck" by a fairy arrow or elfhead and will not live beyond the next Midsummer Day. It provided Hall with the opportunity to tell Myler's tale and to outline the various superstitious activities in an attempt to save the child from its terrible fate.

This changeling theme was a recurrent subject throughout Hall's writings and was central to the plot in Midsummer Eve. The newly born infant, Eva, was in great danger (Fig. 4.35):

> ... for he [Randy] saw the writhing, misshapen shadow, that was to have been substituted for Geraldine's infant, forced by a number of the attendants to leave the cottage.[146]

In folklore worldwide, a changeling was the offspring of a fairy, troll, elf or other legendary creature that has been secretly left in exchange for a human child. Rooted in ancient beliefs in the power of these mischievous creatures, it echoed the very real fear of losing a child in an era when child mortality was very high.

Fig. 4.35 "The Changeling" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Beautiful young women and new babies were deemed most at risk, in particular baby boys who were often dressed in girls' clothes to thwart the fairies.

In reality the child was most probably suffering from physical or mental problems. Carole G. Silver has highlighted such illnesses as metabolic disorders, wasting illnesses, hydrocephalus, spina bifida, cerebral palsy, Down's Syndrome, autism or progeria (premature aging) all of which could have

brought about gradual changes in a child who initially presented as healthy.[147] Various strategies were deployed to placate evil forces especially in the early vulnerable days after birth when the baby was seen as not yet firmly of this world. Early baptism was essential, lamps were left burning during the night, amulets were worn and in Midsummer Eve, salt and holy water had to be kept ready.

> Kitty Kelly was not superstitious – at least so she said; but she felt it a sort of solemn duty to provide the house with blessed salt and holy water; she had nailed a horse-shoe to the door at morning, well knowing there was a stern resolve among the 'good people' of the elements – Air, Earth, and Wather – to obtain possession of any fatherless child that commenced existence on Midsummer Eve.[148]

In Midsummer Eve, the fairies rushed in the open door that Kitty Kelly inadvertently left open, just as the baby was about to be born and Randy had to negotiate so that the baby would not be taken. He banished the evil Kelpies by tossing blessed salt on them and eventually persuaded Nightstar and Honeybell to let the mother keep her baby by pleading with their own maternal feelings. Some of the suggested cures for a fairy-struck child were risky in themselves. In the story about Mary Myler, Hall lists a number of superstitious acts that were supposedly "meritorious," including "passing it [the child] nine times between the fore legs of a white donkey."[149]

Silver also highlighted how changeling stories were particularly prevalent in Ireland due to a mixture of superstition, the Roman Catholic religion and poverty. It was easier for parents to blame an outside cause such as a bogeyman or the fairies than to deal with the inexplicable.[150] The significance of the changeling theme, which was a recurrent one in Hall's work, may have had something to do with her own thwarted desire to have a family. In several of her novels, including the historical romance The Outlaw (1835) and Marian, babies had been switched at birth, not by fairies but by those who had mischief of their own in mind. As suggested in Chapter 1, this was a popular plot device employed by Hall, providing the basis for a tale and its ultimate resolution.

One of the most important characters in Midsummer Eve was that of Randy the woodcutter or fairy man. He was the archetypal Killarney Guide, grounded in the area and moving freely from human to fairy realm and an authority on nature and the ways of animals and birds. Fairies trusted him, he knew the traditional lore of the area and he was a go-between, acting on behalf of humans less capable of such communication and linking the fairies with the reality of life for the humans. The reader hears the legends of area and superstitions from Randy who "wore a four-leaved shamrock in his bosom, and a wreath of mountain-ash circled his conical hat. The wildest deer on Glena would neither harm him, nor fly from him."[151]

There was a similar character to Randy in The Prince of the Fair Family, Matty Murphy, the wise woman of Manorbeer, who performed the same role. Irish by birth, as a child, Matty was washed up after a shipwreck on the way from Ireland and was brought up in a local farmhouse. She lived in a little cottage within the walls of the ruined castle of Manorbeer. Like Randy, she was a healer and animals were drawn to her. "The fiercest animals acknowledged her influence, the sturdiest watch-dog would roll at her feet, and welcome her with the tenderest caresses."[152] On her way to locate a four-leaved shamrock at moonlight to find out more about the mysterious Owen Morgan, Matty saw the fairy princess Perlie floating in a huge water-lily (Figs. 4.36 and 4.37).

Fig. 4.36 "Perlie on the lily" by W. S. Coleman. The Prince of the Fair Family (1867).
Fig. 4.37 "Perlie and Matty" by Jules Chéret. The Prince of the Fair Family (1867).

Perlie came to live with Matty, and just as Randy took care of Eva, so Matty looked after Perlie's mortal needs. This reference to an old wise man or woman who was fully immersed in the lore of the local area was common to many fairytales and Hall was adept at describing these men and women who lived at the peripheries of society. Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, when referring to the unique skills of the poet in ancient times, described how exceptional individuals were viewed as shamans or intermediaries between the inhabitants of this world and other worlds.[153] Randy and Matty fitted into this category with ease. Supernatural events occur, usually out in the countryside, near locations associated with fairies such as raths, lakes and wells and the intermediary is often semi-bewitched into a mystical sleep (Figs. 4.38-4.39).

Many artists illustrated books during the mid-Victorian period and a publication like Midsummer Eve shows the divergence in styles used in the depiction of key characters. Maclise's "The Vision of the Woodcutter" (Fig. 4.38) was an idealised fantasy drawing in the fashionable "outline" style referred to in Chapter 2. With its stylised frame, pantheon of fairy creatures and woodland flowers, it depicted an enchanting dream world, with the woodcutter part of an elaborate and theatrical setting. It was far removed from Goodall's image of Randy's mystical dream in a bleak and desolate landscape (Fig. 4.39).

Fig. 4.38 "The Vision of the Woodcutter" by D. Maclise. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Fig. 4.39 "Randy the Woodcutter" by F. Goodall. Midsummer Eve. (1848).

One of the major strengths of Midsummer Eve was its range of illustrations but the problem with different artists interpreting characters in such divergent ways could give a disjointed impression to the reader. The next section focuses on the illustrations of Midsummer Eve to explore this in greater depth.

Case Study: Midsummer Eve: Illustrations

Aside from the fairytale elements of Midsummer Eve, the art world provided a context for the work as a whole. This section addresses the importance of art in the narrative and focuses on the illustrations used in the book.

Sidney's ambition to become an artist develops into a key theme as the story progresses, precipitating his estrangement from his cousin Cormac and his need to leave home to make his name as an artist in Rome. Since the eighteenth century, aspiring artists flocked to Rome to study the great classical works of art. Young men of means finished their education by embarking on the Grand Tour, which became a rite of passage within aristocratic society.[154] Cormac attempted to woo Eva in his absence by saying that Sidney's attempts in Rome were doomed to failure: "He has no more chance of becoming a great artist, so to say, than yonder dog of becoming a lion."[155] Sidney however returned for Eva's birthday to announce that he had become "the art-wonder of immortal Rome!"[156] He realised that although he was a success in Rome, it was not necessarily the case that he would have the same positive experience in London. Knowing that the path ahead would be difficult, Eva pledged her support and promised to help him in London after they married. The young couple struggled in London. Sidney's pride, his desire to paint that which was true and noble, prevented him from making a living from his work and his health and state of mind deteriorated: "If I could stoop to manufacture old masters, or imitate the style of those who are popular, I should make, instead of want, money!"[157] His energy was directed towards the May Exhibition at the Royal Academy but when his immense effort came to naught, the fairy Nightstar took care of them and ensured that the dying Cormac bequeathed Ard-Flesk to Sidney, thus bringing a happy though somewhat convenient resolution to the tale.

Apart from the theme which explored the disappointments and pressures facing aspiring artists in the competitive environment of the Academy, Midsummer Eve is a work of art in itself. Eighteen artists and at least nine named engravers contributed over 160 illustrations to the publication. Some artists were well-established such as Huskisson and Maclise and others were on the ascendant, such as John Franklin, J. N. Paton and Kenny Meadows (1790-1874). Midsummer Eve therefore provides a snapshot of fairy painting in Britain at a point when it entered what has been described as a Golden Age for the genre in the middle decades of the century.[158]

Fairy painting flourished in Britain, thanks to the popularity of Shakespeare and the promotion of the national school of British art. Shakespearean subjects were encouraged and believed to be on a par with historical, mythological and Biblical themes. Fairy painting peaked from 1840-70, a time when fairies found expression in most of the Victorian arts: painting; illustration; literature; theatre; ballet; and music. There were a number of reasons why fairy painting was so fashionable during this period. The Victorians were obsessed with the supernatural, unseen world, perhaps in reaction to the materialism and empiricism that attended the rise of the industrial age. The Halls were very enthusiastic Spiritualists as will be seen in the next section so they were not cynical about the possibility of other realities. Hall, in a narratorial aside, saw herself: "even in my Saxon dwelling, as an ally of the 'good people.'"[159]

In addition to the otherworldly qualities, fairy paintings dealt with nudity and eroticism in ways that were socially acceptable (Figs. 4.40 and 4.41) or sentimentalised (Fig. 4.23). Frost's[160] bacchanalian "Fairy Ring" had many classical and mythological antecedents. Edward H. Wehnert's[161] Germanic "Discomfiture of the Kelpies" is reminiscent of the work of Netherlandish artists Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1470-1516), who was renowned for his distinctive and often macabre use of religious symbolism and folk legends, and Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525-69), whose crowded narrative compositions, often based on proverbs, could be interpreted and understood by the spectator. Fairytales inspired paintings where the narrative could be "read" easily by the viewer in the

same way that popularised mythological subject matter in an earlier era. Paintings that had a clear message that could be deciphered by a viewer without requiring arcane knowledge to do so were enormously popular and fed the demand of the new visually literate audience.

Fig. 4.40 "The Fairy Ring" by W. E. Frost. Midsummer Eve (1848).
Fig. 4.41 "Discomfiture of Kelpies" by E. H. Wehnert. Midsummer Eve (1848).

The appetite for pastoral landscape paintings could also be whetted by the interest in fairy paintings and in later years the very Britishness of the landscape in the fairy paintings became a source of national pride and nostalgia.[162] In Midsummer Eve, the image of the fairies attempting to rouse the storm king from his uneasy rest is full of drama, foreboding and above all, a sense of place (Fig. 4.42). The text is replete with local references to Killarney. The storm king is captured:

> ... as he pillowed his head beside the Daemon punch-bowl – set like the eye of a Cyclops in the rough brow of Mangerton; but the old fellow who was still too wearied by the exertions of the long

past winter to attend their summons, grumbled his displeasure in a tone which the echoes of Glena repeated in thunder.[163]

Fig. 4.42 "The Storm King" by J. N. Paton. Midsummer Eve (1848).

Nearly all the fairy artists who contributed to Midsummer Eve were involved in book illustration of one kind or another due to the wealth of opportunities available in the mid-Victorian period. The list of illustrations in Midsummer Eve is worth noting as it is not in alphabetical order, nor is it arranged in order of quantity of contributions. Instead, it reflects the practise of the Annuals and Keepsakes, whereby the best known contributors were given pride of place at the top of the list, always with a view to marketing the publication. Therefore, Maclise and Clarkson Stanfield (1793-1867) top the list as full members of the Royal Academy.[164] Despite Frederick William Hulme (1816-84) contributing the highest number of drawings (forty-five vignettes and a frontispiece) he was listed next to last. The fact that he was a landscape artist may have been a factor, as traditionally landscape was held in lower esteem than history or portrait painting.[165]

Midsummer Eve provides a fascinating account of book illustration at a key moment in the nineteenth century when many artists were involved in the production of a single book, each called upon for their own speciality. Franklin, Huskisson, Meadows and Paton portray the fairies in the book; Thomas Landseer (1795-1880), brother of the more famous Edwin (1802-73), did the

animal portraits; Stanfield the maritime scene; Frederick Goodall and F. W. Topham (1808-77) the realistic domestic interiors and exteriors; and F. W. Hulme and J. H. Weir the numerous landscape views. Some artists adapted their book illustrations using details from their larger scale oil paintings (Figs. 4. 43 and 4.44) and other artists used their illustrations as studies for subsequent larger paintings at a later date.

Fig. 4.43 Left. "The Midsummer Night's Fairies" by Robert Huskisson. (1847) Tate Gallery.

Fig. 4.44 " Fairies Teasing Snail" by Robert Huskisson. Midsummer Eve (1848).

In this painting by Robert Huskisson, entitled The Midsummer Night's Fairies, Titania is shown sleeping but the foreground detail of the snail being teased by the little fairies is reproduced in Midsummer Eve. The painting attracted a great deal of interest when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1847.[166]

Unfortunately for Hall, Midsummer Eve was not a commercial success. S. C. Hall regretfully stated:

> Yet, beautiful as the book is, it was by no means a pecuniary success. Two editions, published 'on my own account,' have not been productive. It is 'out of print' now, and I suppose will always remain so. Yet I repeat, as far as the illustrations (numbering nearly two hundred) go – regarded as either drawings or engravings – no work so perfect has issued from the Press during the century.[167]

Regular advertisements in The Art-Union, (probably written by S. C. Hall), accompanying the reproduction of further plates from the book, graphically chart

its downward spiral. In December 1847, it was heralded as follows:

> We consider it by much the best of Mrs Hall's writings; indeed we have reason to know that it ought to be so – if merit is to be derived from matured thought, careful study, and continual labour.[168]

By May 1848, disillusion has set in:

> No writer has felt more grateful to artists for assistance to that which, if not the best production of the author, is at all events that upon which she bestowed most care, and which had, from the commencement to the close, her whole heart.[169]

Despite the failure of Midsummer Eve, it was curious that Hall returned to the fairytale genre nearly twenty years later with The Prince of the Fair Family (1867). Whereas the fairies were evident at regular intervals in Midsummer Eve and they were responsible for the initial drama, they played a less prominent role than the mortals in the story. The later book featured two fairies as the hero and heroine. Hall may have wished to enter more fully into the fairytale world and there may have been economic factors at play in her decision to revisit the genre on such an ambitious scale.

Fairytales were an important feature of Hall's writings. Whether it was a sketch, a novel, a travel book or a child's book, she provided numerous glosses on fairytales and superstitions throughout her work. The focus on Midsummer Eve highlighted the depth of Hall's desire to create a fairy fantasy in the idyllic Killarney setting. It was ambitious but ultimately, as a narrative, it was not sufficiently imaginative or fantastical to match the many illustrations accompanying her text. The final section of this chapter turns to Hall's interest in Spiritualism and a study of her ghost stories.

Spiritualism and Ghost Stories

Spiritualism

Spiritualism was important to both of the Halls. They believed that communicating with souls proved the existence of the afterlife, thus confirming the basis of their strong religious beliefs. The Halls held and attended

Spiritualist meetings regularly and references were made to these in her letters. One such example recounts the following:

> "I heard all about the trance at Sir Edward's. Home told us that Sir James had received Mr Hall's letter on Spiritualism and expressed himself really pleased with it and intended to write to Mr Hall on this subject ... Home was ten days in our house – after his return from Rome, and he had séances every evening – not all equal but all wonderful![170]

S. C. Hall wrote a pamphlet entitled The Use of Spiritualism and it was printed first in 1863 with many later editions. It gives insight into a movement that had widespread influence on the literature and art of the period and found followers from all walks of life.[171] His aim in publishing his work was to show how it was a "source of incalculable happiness, a powerful means of strengthening and disseminating the teachings of the New Testament – that is to say, Christianity.[172] Spiritualism received a great deal of bad press and practitioners were frequently ridiculed for their beliefs, hence S. C. Hall's contribution in its defence. Critics were suspicious that they were being duped by displays at séances and, in addition, there was the danger of evil and demonic souls who could have an adverse effect on those whose faith lay in the balance. Many otherwise religious people decried it as a Satanic and anti-Christian movement.

In the 1884 edition of The Use of Spiritualism, S. C. Hall recorded episodes relating to his wife, "the good woman who, after she left earth, was mercifully permitted to continue her influence, to give me counsel, to bring me messages ..." He described in some detail that he received over 160 messages from her, delivered through half a dozen different mediums in the three years since her death. He found great solace in Spiritualism and was constantly attempting to keep the channels of communication open between them. It was notable that no conflict was at any stage seen with their religious faith – if anything Spiritualism enhanced and deepened it. Despite their active role in the world of Spiritualism, it was surprising that it did not feature more in Hall's writings. Perhaps this was due to some of the negative publicity surrounding

Spiritualism and the fear that such works would either be ridiculed or deemed un-Christian.

Ghost Stories

On occasion Hall included dramatic and even melodramatic references to ghosts and hauntings in her sketches and stories. One such story was contained within her discussion of "The Miniatures of Peter Oliver"[173] and in it she comes closest to a reference to a Spiritualist episode. It is a dark tale that fills the narrator with terror, the story of a brother and sister who dabbled in the occult and had no belief in any world beyond this: "They plunged, like fallen angels, still more deeply into the dark and dangerous abyss of false knowledge."[174] When the brother left home to travel for two years they made a pact that if either should die they would visit from the spirit world and leave a token as proof. Several years later, her brother appeared to her one dreadful night to tell her that: "There is an hereafter." As they had agreed, he left a token as proof: "The form glided to the bedside, pressed the fingers upon her wrist ... it was marked by the impression of the dead man's wrist... it was blackened as it burned."[175] Hall was talented at tales such as this and the reader is caught up in the truth of the incident, with numerous secondary characters supporting the absolute veracity of what she recounted.

Her tale of "The Dark Lady" or "Le Femme Noir"[176] is her best known ghost story so far located. It appeared in two nineteenth-century publications, the first in The Drawing-Room Table-Book [1848?] and the second in The Playfellow and other Stories (1866). It was also included in a recent anthology entitled What Did Miss Darrington See? An Anthology of Feminist Supernatural Fiction.[177] It was a relatively unusual story for her in that it was not set either in Ireland or England. She turned instead to a tale told by her great-grandmother, a Huguenot[178] and native of the Canton of Berne in Switzerland. According to Hall, it was one of her stories "which greatly interested her young listeners."

> She would sing the most amusing patois songs, and tell stories from morning till night, more especially spirit-stories; but the old

> lady would not tell a tale of that character to an unbeliever, 'such things,' she would say, 'are not for make-laugh.'[179]

Hall wrote of the unique way her great-grandmother told the story, her accent, and how her old-fashioned appearance lent her story heightened atmosphere. The setting of the story in the castle of her childhood friend Amelie de Rohean (Figs. 4.45-4.46), surrounded by the ravine and the raging torrents of the Alpine rivers, all added to the romantic melodrama for her eager listeners. Hall gives her opinion at the beginning of the story saying:

> People may laugh at ghosts then, if they like, but as for me, I never could merely smile at the records of those shadowy visitors. I have large faith in things supernatural, and cannot disbelieve solely on the ground that I lack such evidences as are supplied by the senses.[180]

The story, in brief, referred to Amelie's tyrannical uncle, the Count who was immensely proud of his niece and provided her with great wealth and amusements but forbade her to marry. There was a resident ghost at the castle, Le Femme Noir, who was often seen gliding along the parapet or standing on a pinnacle. She only interfered when something bad happened at the castle. Amelie fell in love with Charles le Maitre the son of the Count's deadliest foe who eventually found out about their liaison.

THE DARK LADY.

Fig. 4.45 "Amelie de Rohean" by F. Stone. The Drawing-Room Table-Book (1848?)[181]

Amidst the rising agitation, Le Femme Noir was seen by Hall's's great-grandmother, gliding through the door and along the corridor to confront the

Count, warning him that he would not be able to prevent the union of Amelie and Charles. Her great-grandmother said:

> I heard her voice myself; it sounded like the night-wind among fir-trees – cold and shrill, chilling both ear and heart.[182]

The Count demanded that Charles be brought before him but thanks to Le Femme Noir, he escaped from the castle and despite the crashing thunder and lightning, escaped across the bridge just in time before it was swept away by her supernatural intervention. The Count and his entourage could only watch in despair as they saw the young Charles kneeling with outstretched arms in gratitude for being delivered from the double peril (Fig. 4.46).[183]

Fig. 4. 46 "The escape of Charles le Maitre" by W. Purser. The Drawing-Room Table-Book (1848?)

After this tumultuous event the Count became a much-altered person, found comfort in the Bible and was reconciled to Amelie and Charles's love for each other. The didactic elements are highlighted. Wealth had not brought happiness, only love could do that. The story ends as Le Femme Noir appears one more time to the Count on the eve of his death. No further details about Le Femme Noir's history or the reason for her hauntings and actions emerge.

Despite the fact that this was a story that Hall heard in her childhood and despite her great-grandmother's "young listeners," she herself seemed unsure about the suitability of ghost stories as a genre for young readers. The proof of this can be seen in a series of letters between the Ettrick Shepherd, James Hogg and Hall. Hogg was a prolific contributor to the annuals and periodicals of the era and he was anxious to be included in Hall's recently established The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not. He enjoyed her writings on Irish national culture, which evidently struck a chord with his own Scottish interests and was familiar with her Sketches of Irish Character. In a letter to Allan Cunningham, he implied that he would like to give some of his work to her as a personal gift:

> That lady is a particular favourite of mine. Her simplicity, her humour and her pathos are all delightful and her careless easy manner most of all. Give my kindest love to her and say that whatever she accepts of mine she must take as a gift of homage even though it should amount to a third of the volume. To her husband I make no such concessions but when I come to London I shall see them both.[184]

Despite such a generous offer, only two of Hogg's poems/prayers appeared in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not: "A Child's Prayer" (1830) and "A Child's Hymn for the close of the Week" (1831).[185] The following letter shows how she was unwilling to compromise her stance on what she considered suitable reading material for her young readers:

> 'The Prayer' for my 'Juvenile' is all that I can wish, and the tale you intended for me also, is interesting and powerfully written – but surely my dear Sir, you would not wish my young readers to credit supernatural appearances? I could not take it upon my conscience to send the little darlings tremblingly to bed after perusing the very perfection of ghost stories from your pen. I find it singularly perplexing that the first tale you send me was one of seduction, your second (a thing by the way of extraordinary spirit and beauty) was a wanderer from fairy land (...). Your last is a ghost story! which kept even me awake half the night. It is a

> downright destruction of peace to write them so well. Pray, pray write me a simple tale something about your own pure and innocent Scottish children – without love – or ghosts – or fairies.[186]

Hall could appreciate the literary merit of Hogg's fiction but they disagreed over what children should or should not read. In a later letter, she again affirms: "Your hymns for children are exquisite."[187] Her views at this period were particularly conservative and more repressive than even a decade later. The Halls were noted for their Evangelicism which was particularly pronounced in the pre-Victorian period. Hogg was a father and had a more relaxed approach. In his reply to Hall dated 22 May 1830 he rejected her dismissal of his work:

> I sent you a very good tale and one of those with which I delight to harrow up the little souls of my own family. I say it is a very good tale and exactly fit for children and nobody else; and your letter to me occasioned me writing one of the best poems ever dropped from my pen in ridicule of your's and the modern system of education [...] As I think shame to put my name to such mere commonplace things as you seem to want I have sent you a letter from an English widow.[188]

Hogg was frustrated by Hall's continual rejection of his work, despite his generous intentions. He added, in his letter above, "that of all creatures ever I met with, you are the most capricious and the worst to please."

Ghost stories were an important branch of short fiction that emerged during the Victorian era. Commentators in the Oxford Book of English Ghost Stories saw the 1850s as a crossroads with authors turning their back on the Gothic elements of earlier writings to forge a distinctive genre of ghost stories. The ghost story played with the insecurities behind the confident and well ordered society presented by the Victorians. Instead of the distant castles and macabre events common to the Gothic, the Victorian ghost story found horror close to home, often on a more domestic level – the familiarity of neighbourhood houses and streets made all the more eerie by their contrast with supposed normality. The terrifying illustration accompanying Hall's temperance tale "The Drunkard's Bible" (Fig. 4.47) demonstrates this

effectively. This tale, originally published in the 1840s was reprinted by temperance publishers in Norwich and republished with this illustration by W. J. Allen in 1875 in Boons and Blessings.[189] In the story, the evils of drink brought ruination to the family, conjured up by the images of the wraith-like forms hovering over the uneasy sleeping man. Hall's didactic message brought the supernatural back from the castle turrets and brooding Swiss Counts firmly within the ordinary domestic sphere.

Fig. 4.47. "The Drunkard's Bible" by W. J. Allen. Boons and Blessings (1875).

Conclusion

This chapter commenced with an overview of social learning theory, providing a framework both for Hall's domestic and fantasy tales. Chapter 2 highlighted Hall's concern with the morality of art and the author's responsibility to share the power and truth of the mimetic experience. Chapter 3 explored the notion of mimicry within a postcolonial framework, teasing out how Hall and the Irish peasants experienced "truth" and "reality" from rather divergent perspectives. In this chapter mimicry assumes a completely different nuance, encapsulating the process whereby learning takes place through observation, imitation and participation in the experiences of others. Hall's purpose in writing her school, animal, fairy and ghost stories was to engage her readers, assist in the formation of their characters and thus contribute in the best way available to her, to the transformation of society. Essentially her readers are invited to mimic characters who mimic a range of acceptable social attitudes and activities. She aimed always to entertain as well as instruct – without both of those ingredients she knew she would fail to bring her readers on board to achieve her aim.

In Bandura's theory of creative modelling, in which he described how creative achievements do not emerge from a vacuum, he outlined how Beethoven progressed from his earlier experimentation with the classical forms of Haydn and Mozart, into his own distinctive style.[190] Likewise, authors and artists build on the legacy of earlier innovators. Hall's literary development and philosophical views owed much to her predecessors. She was well versed in the views of the educational theorists and the Georgian didactic writers. She was fortunate in that she was acquainted with many influential and creative people who inspired her work.

Hall's real interest lay in female rather than male education, the latter which was already well established. Education for girls remained a more haphazard business, with governesses playing a crucial role.[191] Hall's intense interest in the welfare and plight of governesses saw fruition in many philanthropic projects for their benefit. She considered her own childhood experience of education exemplary and she advocated that such a system of home education in a rural environment be adopted where possible. Her experiences with animals and pets in her Wexford home gave her a lifelong interest in animals and they feature as central "characters" in many of her texts. Hall employed a variety of supernatural elements in her literary work. While ghosts featured, she evidently was drawn chiefly to fairytales as a vehicle for her experiments with fantasy and the supernatural. She lamented what she saw as the gradual waning of interest in fairy beliefs in Ireland, seeing it as something inherently bound up in the Irish psyche. Deriving from the success of their travel books, she saw the potential for a gift-book that would appeal to a family audience that served a didactic function as well as highlighting fairies and local customs within a romantic Irish setting.

Hall was not afraid to experiment with her writing. If it was likely that it could be successful and lucrative, she would certainly try out new modes of production. She was at the peak of her success in the 1840s with her most acclaimed novels, plays, travel literature and sketches all being reproduced in numerous editions. The success of Ireland and of S. C. Hall's The Book of British Ballads might have indicated that there was scope for a fairytale

publication illustrated in a similar fashion by the best artists of the day. Ultimately, the time had not yet come for the perfect marriage of text and image that was evident in such partnerships as Lewis Carroll and John Tenniel; Charles Dickens and Hablot Brown; or the author/artist publications by Edward Lear (1812-88), Samuel Lover (1797-1868), Beatrix Potter (1866-1943), Edith Somerville (1858-1949) or William Makepeace Thackeray. Midsummer Eve is full of beautiful illustrations and had some merit as a narrative but it was not sufficiently dramatic to succeed as had her sketches and other novels. The overall impression from a visual point of view was one of excess rather than control. There were simply too many images from too many artists and it gives the book a lack of homogeneity.

One of Hall's central preoccupations was that of childhood education. Whilst her views on this subject emerge in a wide range of her literary works, they were succinctly expressed within the domestic environments of the school and animal-story genres and through the fantasy elements of her fairytale and ghost-story genres. Chapter 5 now focuses on a different interpretation of mimesis, that of empowerment and how Hall revealed her gendered sensibility as she negotiated her way through the many challenges facing a professional woman writer.

Notes

[1] Albert Bandura, Social Learning Theory (New York: General Learning Press, 1977) 22.

[2] Albert Bandura, "Social Cognitive Theory," Annals of Child Development: Six Theories of Child Development, ed. R. Vasta, vol. 6 (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1989) 21.

[3] Albert Bandura, Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1986) 100. Bandura used the examples of driving automobiles, performing surgical operations, or baking soufflés.

[4] Bandura, Social Foundations 102.

[5] Mrs S. C. Hall, "An English Farm-Yard," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1834) 39.

[6] Norma Clarke, "'The Cursed Barbauld Crew': Women Writers and Writing for Children in the Late Eighteenth Century," Opening the Nursery Door: Reading, Writing and Childhood 1600-1900 eds. Mary Hilton, et al. (London: Routledge, 1997) 101.

[7] Clarke, "Barbauld Crew" 101.

[8] Clarke, "Barbauld Crew" 102.

[9] Ronald's Reason or The Little Cripple was published in 1864 and like Stories of the Governess, discussed later in this chapter, it was published for a particular philanthropic purpose. It was dedicated to Richard William Tamplin, Senior Surgeon of the Royal Orthopaedic Hospital in London where many young invalids had been cured or relieved of their symptoms. The story was set in a school belonging to Master Downs at Temple Chase. The short chapters show the camaraderie between the boys, their use of slang, arguments over money and a fight between Ronald and the bully Tom Massey. The central story revealed how Ronald has been saving his pennies in order to help poor lame Philip afford an operation to cure his leg.

[10] The bookplate in my copy of Stories and Studies from English History reads: "School for Young Ladies, 7 Woodlands Terrace, Glasgow. 2nd Prize,

Junior Division. 1st Class, English, awarded to Miss M. Murdoch. Glasgow, 24 24 May 1875." Other inscriptions in editions of Hall's books in my collection include The Swan's Egg which was awarded to "Rose Pennington for punctual attendance" in 1891 and Grandmamma's Pockets was presented to "Ethel Linda Chedlow for Regularity at Hundsfield Girls School 20 March 1899." Her books were listed in publisher's catalogues in sections listing Books for School Prizes as in a Chambers Trade Catalogue for [1850s] Dep 341/599, National Library of Scotland.

[11] Myers, "Impeccable Governesses" 31.

[12] Chronicles of a School Room 206-207.

[13] Chronicles of a School Room 40.

[14] Mrs S. C. Hall, Uncle Sam's Money-Box (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, [1848]) [100].

[15] John Locke, Some Thoughts Concerning Education (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1779) 238.

[16] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Pen and Ink Sketch: The Sensitive Plant," The Art Union Feb. (1846): 69.

[17] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Cleverness," Chambers's Edinburgh Journal May (1843): 137-38. It was included as vol. 6 in Chambers's Miniature Library of Fiction in 1858 and as "The Forced Blooms" in the 1847 illustrated edition of Tales of Woman's Trials. The latter has an extra chapter with a more tragic ending than in the original Chambers version, involving the premature demise both of Alfred and Lucy.

[18] Chambers's Edinburgh Journal May (1843): 138.

[19] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Turns of Fortune," Chambers's Edinburgh Journal Apr. (1843): 109.

[20] Young, A. F., and Ashton, E. T. British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge, 1956) 239. When Hall visited More in 1825, she witnessed the writer bidding farewell to a young boy who enjoyed his visit to More and the cake she provided. "'That is the way I like the young to remember

me,' she replied, 'by being kind.'" Pilgrimages to English Shrines (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854) 54.

[21] Pilgrimages (1854) 55.

[22] Pilgrimages (1854) 58. More showed Hall the monument she had to John Locke in her garden which had been presented to her.

[23] Mrs S. C. Hall, preface, The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (London: T. Nelson, 1862) iii-iv.

[24] Maria and R. L. Edgeworth, Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth Begun by Himself and Concluded by his Daughter Maria Edgeworth (London, 1820). Maria claimed that the general ideas were her father's but "the illustrating and manufacturing them, if I may use the expression, was mine." (Hilton 121.)

[25] Hilton 123-124.

[26] Mme de Genlis or Stéphanie Félicité Ducrest De Saint-Aubin, Comtesse de Genlis (1746-1830) wrote on education in the tradition of Rousseau. Best known in England for Adelaide and Theodore (1783) and Tales of the Castle (1785), she rejected fairy stories as immoral. Arnaud Berquin (1747-91) also wrote moral tales and his works were known in England as The Children's Friend (1783) and The Looking Glass for the Mind (1787). He was less critical of fairytales than Mme de Genlis.

[27] The anxiety provoked by their avoidance of religion was understood by conservative critics as provoking potential revolution through the Edgeworths' encouragement of discovery and education through science, reason and philosophy. Their work "could undermine the foundations of obedience and submission that Anglican (now increasingly evangelical) faith in scriptural authority demanded." (Hilton 124-125).

[28] Mrs S. C. Hall, Chronicles of Cosy Nook (London: Marcus Ward, 1875) 182.

[29] Myers, "Impeccable Governesses" 38.

[30] The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1862) iv.

[31] Anna Laetitia Barbauld, "The Misses" Mrs S. C. Hall ed. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not. (London: N. Hailes,1830) [1]-8. Barbauld's tale, reproduced by

Hall, featured Miss Chief, Miss Management, Miss Lay, Miss Place, Miss Understanding, Miss Representation, Miss Trust, Miss Rule, Miss Hap, Miss Chance, Miss Take and Miss Fortune.

[32] Rev. of The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not, ed. Mrs S. C. Hall, The Mirror (1862): 447-448.

[33] Although these stories appeared originally in her annuals for 1832 ("The 'Not' Family") and 1835 ("Passages in the Lives of Jenny Careless and Jane Careful"), the fact that Hall included both of them in The Juvenile Budget (1840) and The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1862) revealed much about where her literary preferences lay. F. B., rev. of The Juvenile Budget, ed. Mrs S. C. Hall, The Westminster Review Oct (1839): 78-79. The critic noted: "we could wish that every mother might read and ponder 'Little Ears' and as for 'The Family of the Nots,' 'Holiday Time,' and 'Irish Jerry,' we recommend them to all who would be amused." Positive reviews such as this may have been a factor in her choice of "The 'Not' Family" and "Irish Jerry" for the 1862 The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not.

[34] Myers, "Impeccable Governesses" 43.

[35] Clarke, "Barbauld Crew" 102.

[36] Chronicles of a School Room 223.

[37] Keane 110.

[38] Richard Boyse, Diary vol. 1, Ms 7888 National Library of Ireland, 3. The entry in the diary is as follows: "Counsellor George Carr born around 1754 and was 39 years when came into possession of the Graige Estate, the annual income of which at that time was £5,381. George spent rest of his life – some 32 years on this estate and died 1825. His wife was a widow, whom he met abroad, having one child, a daughter whom she brought with her to her new husband. This daughter subsequently married a man of the name of Fielding and bore him one daughter in 1800 that Uncle George to please his wife Anna Maria Carr, adopted, at least he educated her at best London Schools. In London she met Samuel Carter Hall and on her marriage to him George Carr settled on her for life the sum of £100 per annum."

[39] Chronicles of a School Room 11-12. On the same page, Hall added that, as a child, her nurse threatened her with the fact that if she were naughty, she would be sent to school "where the mistress had an eye in the middle of her forehead, and ate up naughty children without a grain of salt."

[40] In a different context, though proving her ability to embellish facts, she stated in a letter to Sir Emerson Tennent that "like most Irish writers I have made too many "legends" to have much faith in them." Anna M. Hall, letter to Sir James Emerson Tennent, n.d., D2922/B/15A/1 Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

[41] Mrs Barbauld shrank from the idea of higher education for young women away from natural homes:

> I should have little hope of cultivating a love of knowledge in a young lady of fifteen who came to me ignorant and uncultivated. It is too late then to begin to learn. The empire of the passions is coming on ... The care of a mother alone can give suitable attention to this important period.

Anna Thackeray Ritchie, A Book of Sibyls: Mrs Barbauld, Miss Edgeworth, Mrs Opie, Miss Austen (London: Blackwood, 1883) 19.

[42] Mrs S. C. Hall, Grandmamma's Pockets (London: W. & R. Chambers, [c. 1899]) [11]. Subsequent quotations are all from this edition.

[43] Grandmamma's Pockets 42.

[44] Sketches (1844) [321]-336. Margate in Grandmamma's Pockets was most likely one and the same as Frank's daughter Mary in the sketch "Old Frank."

[45] Sketches (1844) 322.

[46] Grandmamma's Pockets 30-31.

[47] Mrs S. C. Hall, Marian; or A Young Maid's Fortunes, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1877) 141-42.

[48] Mrs S. C. Hall, "A Memory of Mrs Hofland," The Art-Union Feb. (1845): 41. Hofland, who was a good friend of Hall's for nearly twenty years, died the previous November.

[49] Uncle Sam's Money-Box [c. 1900] 106.

[50] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Playfellow," The Drawing-Room Table-Book (London: George Virtue, [1848?] 79.

[51] Sketches (1844) 269. According to Hall's sketch, he had to leave his pupils in his own school for two hours twice a week to tutor Hall. His reputation in the Bannow area increased because of this and the best of his own scholars upped their weekly donation from three-halfpence to two pence on the strength of it. The story was first published in The Spirit and Manners of The Age; A Christian and Literary Miscellany in 1829 and later compiled by Westley and Davis with her other Irish sketches.

[52] Sketches (1844) [267].

[53] Sketches (1844) 269.

[54] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Schoolmaster's Dream," Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany, Feb. (1844): 121-128.

[55] "Album" (c1832-40), National Library of Ireland. The comparison shows how much can be lost in the engraving process with the cruder expressions and loss of fine detail. The engraver has attempted to provide a more maritime background than the copse in the original drawing with the old church and round tower in the distance. The scene is a typical hedge school with pupils of all ages engaged with different activities, some paying more attention than others.

[56] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Poor Scholar," The London Saturday Journal 3 July (1841) 8-9.

[57] Karen Willoughby, Slates Up! Schools and Schooling in the Nineteenth Century (Dublin: CICE, 2005); John Coolahan, and Patrick F. O'Donovan, A History of Ireland's School Inspectorate, 1831-2008 (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009). Free Primary School Education was introduced to Ireland in 1831 by the National Board of Education, modelled on the work done by the Kildare Place Society. Grants were given for buildings and salaries for teachers. Prior to this, parents paid hedge school masters for individual and group instruction. The hedge schools were no longer illegal since the repeal of the Penal Laws in 1782

and usually took place in small cabin rooms. It was estimated that in 1824, there were 11,000 schools in Ireland with half a million pupils attending. The hedge school masters may have feared the loss of livelihood if they were replaced by the new system plus the loss of a Catholic ethos in unstable political times. The legacy of the Penal Laws would have been a factor in their distrust.

[58] "The Old Drawing Master" 98.

[59] "A Sketch at Glengariff" 159.

[60] Grandmamma's Pockets 20.

[61] Keane 36.

[62] Sources include: Julia Briggs, Dennis Butts and M. O. Grenby, eds., Popular Children's Literature in Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Peter Hunt, ed., Children's Literature: an Illustrated History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Jack Zipes, ed., The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[63] "Holyday Time" 200.

[64] Chronicles of a School Room (1830) v.

[65] Other topics not dealing with natural history topics included the question of whether or not children's Balls (dances) were a good or bad idea, an account of fireside amusements (music, books, games, needlework and riddles) and the unsuitability of politics as an occupation for women.

[66] Mrs S. C. Hall The Swan's Egg (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers,1851) 12.

[67] Marian (1877) vol. 1 146.

[68] Marian (1877) vol. 1 129.

[69] This publishing house was founded in 1830 by Edward Chapman (1804-80) and William Hall (1880/01-47). The latter was not related to S. C. Hall. As well as publishing a number of Hall's publications such as The Juvenile Budget (1840), The Whiteboy (1845) and Tales of Women's Trials (1847), they published Dickens and Thackeray.

[70] William Shaw (c. 1783-1850), was the owner of Bowe's Academy, one of the largest of the Yorkshire schools with upwards of 250-300 boys and seven

ushers. The case of Jones v Shaw and Ockerby v Shaw took place at the Court of Common Pleas, 30-31 Oct 1823. Charles Dickens, et al. The Letters of Charles Dickens 1820-1839, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965) 481-482.

[71] Cumberland Clark, Charles Dickens and the Yorkshire Schools with his letter to Mrs Hall (London: Chiswick Press, 1918)

[72] Another case referred to by Dickens in his preface was an incident where a child's facial cancer was lanced by the teacher's fountain pen causing his death. This incident was supposedly the subject of a court case, seven years before Dickens's visit to the Yorkshire schools.

[73] Charles Dickens, The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867) [v]-vi.

[74] Marian (1877) vol. 1 130.

[75] Maureen Keane dismissed Hall as well outside the league of Dickens and Brontë (Keane 111) but Marian was well received in reviews both in England and Ireland and may even have had some effect on Brontë if she had read it. Dennis Butts in his article on Barbara Hofland also alluded to the popularity of Hofland's Ellen the Teacher (1814), one of her most widely-read novels. Relating the story of a virtuous heroine who attended an unpleasant school and was locked in a closet after an accusation of lying, there are parallels with this episode in both Hall's and Brontë's novels. Dennis Butts, "Finding and Sustaining a Popular Appeal: The Case of Barbara Hofland," Briggs, Popular Children's Literature 105-122.

[76] Chronicles of a School Room 11.

[77] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Young Rebel," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1829) 91.

[78] Cecilia Wadsö Lecaros, The Victorian Governess Novel (Lund: Lund University Press, 2001). http://www.victorianweb.org/gender/wadso2.html

[79] M. Jeanne Peterson, "The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society," Victorian Studies 14 (1970): 8.

[80] Sally Mitchell, rev. of The Victorian Governess, by Kathryn Hughes, Victorian Studies 37 (1994): 356.

[81] Mrs S. C. Hall, "A Visit to the Female School of Design" The Art-Union July (1845): 231.

[82] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Asylum for Aged Governesses," The Art-Union June (1848): 197. The story entitled "The Old Governess" was originally made available at the price of five shillings at a Bazaar on 20-21 June 1848. A reference to it in the above article listed all the artists who contributed to the publication (about thirty engravings) which would entice people to buy the story which was in aid of funds for building an "Asylum for Aged and Decayed Governesses" in Kentish Town. The Art-Union for 1848 alone contained seven essays by Hall promoting the cause and the June Bazaar. Her entry in July gave a figure raised of £2,500. Well known artists contributed paintings for the Bazaar and the singer Jenny Lind performed informally at the event. "The Old Governess" was published with the other two stories in 1852. The Governesses' Benevolent Institution had been set up in 1841 and Hall's book was dedicated to this charity and also to Mrs David Laing "whose high privilege it is to be a fellow labourer in the cause."

[83] It reappeared in Tales of Woman's Trials (1847) and became vol. 1 of Chambers's Miniature Library of Fiction (1858).

[84] Peterson "Victorian Governess" 11-12, and Hughes The Victorian Governess 155-156.

[85] Hughes The Victorian Governess x-xvi.

[86] Peterson "Victorian Governess" 10-11.

[87] Sketches (1844) [135]-154.

[88] Anna Maria Hall, letter to Francis Bennock, undated, MsL H174be, Iowa University Library.

[89] Sources include: Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Hunt, Children's Literature: an Illustrated History (1995); Whalley and Chester,

A History of Children's Book Illustration (1988); and Zipes, The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales (2000).

[90] Grandmamma's Pockets 13. An entire chapter of this semi-autobiographical book was devoted to "Annie Fielder and Her Pets" [11]-21. Birds were particular favourites but in addition to keeping an eye on the dovecot and the poultry yard, she was kept busy with her tame otter, an Angora ram called Mallow, a pony called Blind Sorrel and any number of dogs including "Emp" or "Emperor" the great mastiff.

[91] Mayo, "Two old friends" 306.

> Wherever Mrs. Hall went there were sure to be birds and flowers, and a group of little white Maltese dogs was a perennial feature in the establishment. There were one or two toy terriers and a pug, but their reign was not so permanent. And there was a much beloved Persian cat, "trained" not to molest birds. There had once been a monkey, but he had vanished before my day. Both Mr. and Mrs. Hall had a great love for animals; it begun with their own pets, and only ended with every donkey or mongrel cur that trotted to their door or came within their reach.

[92] A. M. Hall, letter to Mrs Mackinley of Woodlands, Wimbledon, 8 Oct [c. 1830s], Ms 17,064, National Library of Ireland, Dublin. Hall's address is listed as The Ferns, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood S. E. and she wrote "The Black bullfinch you gave me is in hale beauty and song and takes real worms out of my fingers. I am grieved to say that despite the attendance of two medical men, Mrs Black bullfinch died before our removal."

[93] One of her favourite animals was Neptune "my prime minister, my prince of favourites, a noble Newfoundland dog, by name Neptune ... a large shaggy fellow, who deserved the immortality of Landseer's pencil. "The Playfellow" [1848?] 79. Neptune also appeared in her short story "The Poor Scholar" 8-9.

[94] Uncle Sam's Money-Box (c. 1900) 14.

[95] A later edition appeared in 1890.

[96] Swan's Egg (1851) 85.

[97] Swan's Egg (1851) 145. Fig. 4.16 from the 1890 edition shows Jane's love of bows, fancy bonnets and shoes compared to the plain but sensible attire of her sister Kate.

[98] Swan's Egg (1851) 157.

[99] Harriet Ritvo, The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987) 4-6.

[100] "The Playfellow" [1848?] 80.

[101] Midsummer Eve 91.

[102] Keeldar, the protective bloodhound devoted to the heroine of Midsummer Eve, was probably named after the dog immortalised in the poem The Death of Keeldar by Sir Walter Scott in 1829.

[103] Sydenham Edwards, Cynographica Britannica (London: C. Whittingham, 1800) 1-4.

[104] The illustration accompanying this story, both in The Drawing-Room Table-Book [1848?] and the Annie Leslie compilation of 1877 was by Edwin Landseer, see footnote 93 above. It depicted the young Edward sitting by the bank just as Neptune brought him back his toy boat. The print is undated. Landseer had painted a famous black and white Newfoundland called Neptune in 1824 belonging to W. E. Gosling. Hall may be mixing fact and fiction in her own depiction of Neptune.

[105] Chronicles of a Schoolroom 30.

[106] Her writings on birds were expanded two years later and included in her annual, The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not for 1832. A substantial piece, consisting of fifty-three pages, it was admired in a contemporary review in The Imperial Magazine:

> But amongst these tales, narratives, dialogues, delineations, and adventures, our highest tribute of respect must be awarded to Mrs S. C. Hall for her very amusing anecdotes of birds ... In this collection, Mrs Hall has incorporated the natives of various countries and climates, furnished an outline of the natural history

> of each species, and in the aggregate, presented the youthful reader with a pleasing compendium of foreign and domestic ornithology

Rev. of The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1832), ed. Mrs S. C. Hall, The Imperial Magazine. Dec. 1831: 574. Hall had hoped to produce a book on birds for Chambers, but although listed in a ledger in the National Library of Scotland, there was no payment recorded and no follow-up publication appeared.

[107] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Savoyards," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1829) 209-210.

[108] "The Savoyards" 224.

[109] The original author of Biddy Dorking is not known but variations on fable stories and nursery rhymes such as "Ye Frog and Ye Crow" would have inspired many publications such as this.

[110] Weir became President of the National Cat Club in 1887 and organised the first ever cat show in London in 1871 in Crystal Palace. Poiloty and J. Bateman also contributed illustrations to Animal Sagacity.

[111] Marian (1877) vol. 2 124.

[112] The nineteenth century had numerous examples of such animal/human love, both real and fictional, from art and literature. Greyfriar's Bobby in Edinburgh was a Skye Terrier who mourned at his owner's grave for fourteen years from 1858-72 and Landseer's sentimental painting The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner (1837) was one of his most famous. Poems such as Helvellyn by Sir Walter Scott and Fidelity by William Wordsworth, both written in 1805, were instantly recognised by the literate public.

[113] Hall's attachment to her many animals was well documented, even to the point of mentioning the presence of her pet bird and her little dog Blackie in the afterlife via a medium during one of S. C. Hall's spiritualist communications with his wife. (Keane 22 and S. C. Hall, The Use of Spiritualism Glasgow: Hay Nisbet, 1876. 65-66)

[114] Mrs S. C. Hall, The Whisperer, London: W. & R. Chambers, [c. 1890] 43-44.

[115] Maureen B. Adams, "Emily Brontë and Dogs: Transformation within the Human-Dog Bond," Society and Animals 8:2 (2000): 1-15.
Heathcliff used Isabelle's dog Fanny as a scapegoat to exact revenge and to threaten both Isabelle and her brother Edgar Linton.

[116] Grace Moore, "Beastly Criminals and Criminal Beasts: Stray Women and Stray Dogs in Oliver Twist," Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture, eds. Deborah Denenholz Morse and Martin A. Danahay (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007) 203.

[117] Hume, Fantasy and Mimesis 20.

[118] Hume, Fantasy and Mimesis 21.

[119] C. W. Sullivan III, "High Fantasy," International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature, ed. Peter Hunt (Oxford: Routledge, 1996) 300.

[120] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 426.

[121] Jack Zipes, Victorian Fairytales: The Revolt of the Fairies and Elves (New York: Routledge, 1989) xiii-xiv; Stella Beddoe, "Fairy Writing and Writers," Victorian Fairy Painting, ed. Jeremy Maas (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997) 23.

[122] R. L. Edgeworth, preface The Parent's Assistant vol. I (London: 1845) xi. "It may be said that a little experience in life would soon convince them that fairies, giants, and enchanters, are not to be met with in the world. But why should the mind be filled with fantastic visions, instead of useful knowledge?"

[123] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Thoughts on Juvenile Illustrated Literature," The Art Union Apr. (1846) 111.

[124] Zipes, Victorian Fairytales xxiii.

[125] Anne Markey, "The Discovery of Irish Folklore," New Hibernia Review Winter (2006): 21.

[126] Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, Locating Irish Folklore: Tradition, Modernity, Identity (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000) 1.

[127] Humphry Carpenter, and Mari Prichard, The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) 177.

[128] Sullivan, "High Fantasy,"303-302.

[129] No less than four editions of A Week in Killarney were produced (1843, 1850, 1858 and 1865), testament to its widespread popularity and appeal.

[130] Murray, Maclise 244-245.

[131] Crofton Croker was an enthusiastic antiquarian and a modest painter and he was always ready to encourage young emigrants arriving from Ireland, especially from Cork, his own native city. He lent Hall money on occasion, certainly helped with advice and proposed Hall's membership of Society of Antiquaries in 1842. Samuel Carter Hall, letter to Thomas Crofton Croker, 4 Apr. 1823, Thomas Crofton Croker Correspondence, vol. I, letter 128, Cork Central Library. This letter apologetically requests the loan of two or three pounds for several weeks due to the non publication of certain essays the weeks previously.

[132] Thomas Crofton Croker, Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland (London: William Tegg, [1870?]) 233-238.

[133] Ireland (1841) vol. 1 108. Variously spelled "Pooka" or "Phooca" the Halls reproduced the same image used by Crofton Croker in his extensive discussion of the Pooka in Fairy Legends (1854) 177-211.

[134] Midsummer Eve (1848) 155.

[135] Midsummer Eve (1848) 59.

[136] Hall shows a particular fondness for the name Dovecote. As well as being Eva Raymond's home in Midsummer Eve, she refers to Dove Hall in her semi-autobiographical Grandmamma's Pockets and in A Woman's Story the narrator (Nobody) refers to her home at the Dovecote. In Wexford, she related how she enjoyed feeding the pigeons at the gable cottage so the name may have emanated from there or she may have had some reference to Wordsworth's home, Dove Cottage, where he lived from 1799-1808.

[137] Belinda Loftus, Mirrors: Orange and Green (Down: Picture Press, 1984) 78.

[138] Glenn Hooper, ed., Landscape and Empire 1770-2000 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). 1-16. Luke Gibbons, "Between Captain Rock and a Hard Place: Art and Agrarian Insurgency," Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century, eds. Tadhg Foley and Seán Ryder (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998) 23-44.

[139] Keane summarised several instances where the Halls risked their lives in search of authenticity: remaining in the boat at the Old Weir Bridge; climbing to St. Kevin's Bed in Glendalough; and embarking on hazardous trips at Mitchelstown Caves and New Grange.

[140] Hall acknowledged in her Introduction to Midsummer Eve that she "committed a practical anachronism in bringing the Kelpies of the North into the South but the fairy legend upon which her own tale is based was common, she believed, to all parts of Ireland." Christopher Wood in Fairies in Victorian Art defined the Scottish kelpie as a water spirit that took the form of a water horse. Fairies in folklore were frequently associated with water and common to all the naiads, nixies, mermaids and water sylphs, was the underlying danger that these beings were a threat and could lure mortals to their deaths.

[141] Hall's father had died shortly after her birth and whereas she had a step-grandfather in George Carr in Graigue, he was a more distant figure to the young Hall, than her grandmother. She had a closer relationship with many of her servants, such as Old Frank or Master Ben, as she associated with them on a regular basis.

[142] Grandmamma's Pockets (c. 1899) 108.

[143] Daniel Maclise's painting of a Scene from Undine was completed in 1843 and was purchased by Queen Victoria as a present for Prince Albert's twenty-sixth birthday in August 1843 (Murray, Maclise 126).

[144] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Fairy Struck," The Art-Union July (1846): 203.

[145] It has not been possible to obtain a reproduction of this painting to date as it was not included in any of the standard references to Goodall's work and it was not illustrated in Hall's article in The Art-Union.

[146] Midsummer Eve (1848) 21.

[147] Carole G. Silver, "Come Away Thou Human Child: Abductions, Change, and Changelings," Strange and Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 59-89.

[148] Midsummer Eve (1848) 5.

[149] The Art-Union July (1846) 203.

[150] By blaming fairies and their trickery, people felt they were justified in their mistreatment of those with any abnormality or disability. There were many horrific tales of actual violent practices carried out in an attempt to cast out the changeling or the perceived "substituted child." The murder of Bridget Cleary in March 1895 was one instance where the belief that an evil fairy had possessed his wife, drove her husband Michael to commit appalling acts of barbarity with the local fairy doctor Denis Ganey, and family and friends in attendance. It was a murder that was reported widely in the newspapers throughout the British Isles. Angela Bourke, The Burning of Bridget Cleary: A True Story (London: Pimlico, 1999).

[151] Midsummer Eve (1848) 17.

[152] Mrs S. C. Hall, The Prince of the Fair Family: A Fairy Tale (London: Chapman and Hall, [1867]) 67.

[153] Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, The Hero in Irish Folk History (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1985) 229.

[154] Edward Chaney, The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance (London: Frank Cass, 1998).

[155] Midsummer Eve (1848) 171.

[156] Midsummer Eve (1848) 173.

[157] Midsummer Eve (1848) 230.

[158] Jeremy Maas, "Victorian Fairy Painting," Victorian Fairy Painting (Exhibition), ed. Jeremy Maas (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998) 11-21.

[159] Midsummer Eve (1848) 57.

[160] Philip McEvansoneya, "Frost, William Edward," Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online. Web. 7 Mar. 2010. William Edward Frost (1810-77) specialised in mythological and historical scenes but had a particular interest in

bacchanalian subjects which could combine landscape and female nudes. He was a popular artist and engravings of his work were circulated widely.

[161] Edward H. Wehnert (1813-68) also illustrated Grimm's Tales (1853), Keats's Eve of St. Agnes (1856), Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progess (1858) and Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1862).

[162] Iain Zaczek, Fairy Art: Artists and Inspirations (London: Star Fire, 2005) 161. A fairy painting entitled The Piper of Dreams by Estella Louisa M. Canziani which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1915 was subsequently a bestselling image when the Medici Society bought the reproduction rights. The image was very popular with troops in the trenches who saw it as symbolic of the England that they were fighting for.

[163] Midsummer Eve (1848) 2-3.

[164] They were followed by Thomas Creswick (1811-69), Edward Matthew Ward (1816-79), Alfred Elmore (1815-81) and William Edward Frost, all Associates of the Royal Academy and Joseph Noel Paton R. S. A (Royal Scottish Acadamy). Sir Joseph Noel Paton was a good friend of Hall's. His two fairy paintings inspired by A Midsummer Night's Dream entitled The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania (1847) and The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania (1849) brought him fame and election to the Royal Scottish Academy. Art historians have documented his paintings but his book illustrations have been neglected. Paton provided thirty-nine illustrations for Midsummer Eve alone, including three frontispieces to chapters.

[165] Sources include: George Dunlop Leslie, The Inner Life of the Royal Academy (London: Murray, 1914); R. H. Fuchs, Dutch Painting (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); Rafael Cordoso Denis, and Trodd, Colin, eds., Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2000); Encyclopaedia Brittanica. From the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century, academicians favoured a hierarchy of genres with history painting (classical, mythological, religious, literary or allegorical) at the top, followed by portraiture, landscape, genre paintings, animal paintings and still life. They believed that history painting distilled the universal essence of a

subject whereas landscape, still-life or animal painting was associated more with the particular. The Academies viewed the skills required by the artist for those lower genres as more mechanical and less intellectual. The Dutch theorist Samuel Van Hoogstraten (1627-78) described landscapists as the "common footmen in the Army of Art." (Fuchs 104).

[166] Tate Gallery, London. Web. 10 Feb. 2009.

[167] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 331.

[168] The Art Union Dec (1847): 409.

[169] The Art Union May (1848):149.

[170] Anna Maria Hall, letter to Lady Emersen Tennent [1860s], D2922/B/15A/4, Public Record Office, Belfast.

[171] Numerous prominent people were involved, including the painter Sir Edwin Landseer, the author Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930), several members of the Trollope family, Mrs Browning (1806-61) and others. The Halls' circle included Lord Lindsay (1812-80), Lord Dunraven (1841-1926), Lord Lytton (1803-73), Robert Chambers (1802-71), William Crookes F. R. S (1832-1919) and William and Mary Howitt. They were not all keen to announce their Spiritualist interests publicly and S. C. Hall singled out Robert Chambers in particular (of Chambers's publishers in Edinburgh) for lacking the courage to defend his interest in Spiritualism. S. C. Hall was not impressed with Chambers's seminal work Vestiges which he referred to as that "odious book," perplexed that he could have written such a book despite being a Spiritualist.

[172] S. C. Hall, The Use of Spiritualism (Glasgow: Hay Nisbet, 1876) [2]

[173] "Memories of Pictures IV: The Miniatures of Peter Oliver." The Art-Union June (1843): 141-143.

[174] The Art-Union June (1843): 142.

[175] The Art-Union June (1843): 142

[176] It is referred to in the story as "Le Femme Noir" but technically it should be "La Femme Noire." Although the story is entitled "The Dark Lady" in both volumes, in the body of the text the author refers to the ghost as "Le

Femme Noir" as that would have been what her French-speaking great grandmother did when recounting her story.

[177] Mrs S. C. Hall, "La Femme Noir," What Did Miss Darrington See? An Anthology of Feminist Supernatural Fiction, ed. Jessica Amanda Salmonson (New York: The Feminist Press, 1989) 58-67. Salmonson described it as "one of Hall's best known stories" (58) and this version was obtained from a reprint in 1891 in the weekly American magazine Littell's Living Age (1844-1941). It published selections from various English and American magazines and newspapers. Surprisingly, Hall's ghost story is also included in several science fiction and horror websites such as www.horrormasters.com.

[178] Victor Sage, "Irish Gothic: C. R. Maturin and J. S. LeFanu," A Companion to the Gothic, ed. David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001) 81. With reference to two other important Huguenot writers, C. R. Maturin (1780-1824) and J. S. LeFanu (1814-73), Victor Sage stated:

> "There is something, perhaps, about the Huguenot refugee heritage which gives these writers, perched with varying degrees of discomfort inside a dominant class, a particular sensitivity to the darker implications of a fractured society.

[179] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Dark Lady," The Drawing-Room Table-Book (London: George Virtue, [1848?]) 4.

[180] "The Dark Lady" 3-4.

[181] The portrait of Amelie was typical of fashionable society ladies, popular in Annuals and Keepsakes of the period.

[182] "The Dark Lady" 8.

[183] Neither of the plates actually depicted the spectral Le Femme Noir. As with other stories included in The Drawing-Room Table-Book, the engravings were provided for the publication and Hall ensured to weave them seamlessly with her text.

[184] James Hogg, letter to Allan Cunningham, 19 Jan. 1830, Trinity College, Cambridge: Cullum N.8.2. (qtd. in The Collected Works of James

Hogg: Contributions to Annuals and Gift Books, eds. Janette Currie and Gillian Hughes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.)

[185] Hogg reproduced both at a later date in his A Father's New Year's Gift (London: Cochrane, 1832).

[186] Anna Maria Hall, letter to James Hogg, 2 Apr. 1830, James Hogg Collection, Special collections, University of Otago Library, in a copy of The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1831). (qtd. in The Collected Works of James Hogg: Contributions to Annuals and Gift Books.)

[187] Anna Maria Hall, letter to James Hogg, 2 Mar. 1832, Ms 2245, fols 203-04, National Library of Scotland. (qtd. in Collected Works of James Hogg: Contributions to Annuals and Gift Books.)

[188] According to the editors of Collected Works of James Hogg: Contributions to Annuals and Gift Books, this was probably "A Letter to the Ettrick Shepherd" again rejected by Anna Maria for The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not but reproduced in The Amulet in 1836. Also, the ghost story referred to above, was probably "The Death of W. Watson" which has not been traced.

[189] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 435-436. He described how a family in Bath that he visited owed their happiness to Hall's tract which they showed to him. It was "a soiled and evidently well-read pamphlet." S. C. Hall stated that over half a million copies of the tract were circulated.

[190] Bandura, Social Foundations 49.

[191] Mary Hilton, Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain 1750-1850 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) 23-26.

Chapter 5

Mimesis as Empowerment and Ekphrasis as Hail's *Écriture Féminine*: Gender Issues in Hall's Writings

Introduction

Hall was a professional writer and in this, she had to negotiate her position in a male-dominated world. To be acceptable within this environment she had to work hard to make her reputation and to sustain it. In this chapter I examine how she experimented with stereotypes of female behaviour. According to Luce Irigaray mimesis is a process of resubmitting women to stereotypical views of women in order to call the views into question. Resistance occurs where women imperfectly mimic gendered stereotypes in order to expose and undermine them. The extent to which Hall was aware of what she was doing, whether she was knowingly playing along with expected perceptions, is difficult to determine. This is due to the complex interplay of factors including the social structures of the period and her strong religious beliefs. Parallels may be drawn between the ways Hall positioned herself in a gendered arena and the manner in which the colonised adopt the culture of the coloniser while simultaneously challenging it in strategic ways. This process of subtle subversion is not always immediately apparent to the colonised as they are caught up in a hegemonic bind, believing that what is expected of them is actually what they want themselves. Evidence suggests that Hall was someone who convinced herself that her position in society conformed to her wishes and aspirations, but the cracks in this position are visible on close examination of her texts and discourse. By elaborately ensuring and reassuring her readers that she conformed, this mimetic strategy ultimately empowered her to attain her goals to the best of her ability within the confines of the society in which she lived.

I examine mimesis in three separate but related gendered contexts: Hall's relationship with her husband, both professional and personal; her career as an editor in a predominantly male world; and finally, the communality of women. By the latter, I mean her professed preference for her heroines over her heroes, for her audience of female readers, and her support and encouragement to many contemporary women writers. The mimetic nature of

her gendered position is pronounced and clarified by her use of ekphrastic discourse. I suggest that she was acutely aware of what was expected of her and her sex, that a certain deferential and almost apologetic language was required to preface and introduce her writings in order to be wholly acceptable as a "proper woman." The concept of *écriture feminine*, coined by Hélène Cixous in 1975, is one that can be explored in relation to Hall's characteristic espousal of a distinct feminine discourse: "Woman must write herself: must write about women and bring women to writing."[1] This concept is discussed in terms of Hall's narratorial position within her texts especially those that deal with the challenges facing the woman author.

This sense of what was acceptable in women's writing can be demonstrated in the language used by critics when referring to Hall's work. In the same way that she herself employed ekphrastic language, as has been shown in her colonial and didactic writings, so also did critics use it to describe her work. For example, when reviewing Tales of Woman's Trials, the anonymous reviewer wrote about Hall's work (with another title, namely Lady Dacre's Tales of the Peerage and the Peasantry) as follows:

> In both there is the same exquisitely natural painting, which one is sometimes tempted to think is the prerogative of the female pen. Both have the same mild, and yet unexaggerated colouring by which the path of life is made to glow with the soft tints of tenderness and feeling; while yet the brilliant hues with which the ideality of romance so falsely invests the scene which it pourtrays [sic] are softened down to the sobrieties of real life.[2]

In much the same way that women were encouraged to develop a range of domestic accomplishments in areas such as sketching, needlework, music and dancing, the notion of women's writing was diminished by this tendency not to take their writing seriously and to see it in such narrow gendered terms. By thus feminising the written texts, Richard Sha has argued that the perceived limited capacities of the female mind were exaggerated by terminology that accentuated the rules of propriety for women in a public space.[3] Repeatedly, Hall's critics extolled the feminine quality of her writings, as she undoubtedly

would have wished and expected. Referring to The Buccaneer and The Outlaw, an Irish review accentuated this aspect:

> Though in both of these novels the events and characters which figure in history are drawn with considerable truth and force, it is to the scenes which are taken from domestic life that they owe their chief charm ...Throughout every thing she has written there is a spirit of gentleness and delicacy that constitute the principal charm of a feminine style.[4]

The choice of format for Hall's writings was also a consideration. While her output was varied, certain formats were less threatening than others and less likely to be sneered at by the male establishment. In Rohan Maitzen's article on historical biographies by Victorian women, she wrote of the significance of writing "Lives" or "Memoirs" rather than "Histories." She quotes from critics such as J. M. Kemble, writing in Fraser's Magazine and Francis Palgrave in the Quarterly Review, who were hostile to the idea of women historians. Palgrave's comment referring to Mrs Forbes Bush's historical writings, that "the confidence of the public is abused at present by literary ladies, who ought to be contented with marking pinafores and labelling pots of jam,"[5] was representative of mainstream attitudes towards women writers. Rather than rock the male preserve of history writing, Maitzen demonstrated that many women writers chose not to attempt to compete with them, preferring the more subordinate route of memoir writing. She pointed out that "the memoir is colourful and lively instead of grave, trifling and intimate yet authoritive." This could well describe much of Hall's writings on a wide variety of topics and could explain her popularity as a writer for the journal press. The use of the sketch in particular served her purposes very well with its short, personal, animated format.

The first section explores Hall's relationship with her husband: their professional dynamic; the personal commitment and genuine bond that existed between them; and the care in which Hall strove to maintain the balance between both of these vital aspects of her busy life.

Chapter 5

Samuel Carter Hall: A Professional Partnership

> Since – fifty years ago – an humble name
> I gave to thee – which thou hast given to fame –
> Rejoicing in the wife and friend to find
> The woman's lesser duties – all – combined
> With holiest efforts of creative mind.
> And if the world has found some good in me,
> The prompting and the teaching came from thee![6]

Hall's first stories owed much to her husband's position as editor of the annual entitled The Amulet, or Christian and Literary Remembrancer, published by Frederick Westley and edited by S. C. Hall from 1826-37. This section briefly examines in what way S. C. Hall was able to provide opportunities for his wife's work, both in this annual and also in his monthly periodicals Spirit and Manners of the Age and most importantly The Art-Union.

The illustrated annual was a publishing phenomenon of the early nineteenth century which attracted women in particular, both as writers and as readers. Annuals promoted contemporary literature and art amongst the rising middle classes as engravings were an integral part of them, greatly admired and vital for their marketing success. Published initially as Christmas presents, eventually the annuals were often issued without dates, suitable for any year and any season. The overarching element was that they were expensively produced with decorative silk, stamped or leather bindings, numerous steel engravings and with contributions by leading authors of the day.

Rudolph Ackermann's Forget-Me-Not, a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1823, edited initially by William Coombe, was credited as the first annual, produced in November 1822 and sparking off a vogue which was to continue for at least 30 years.[7] Ackermann's aim was to emulate the elegant publications of the Continent, producing annuals:

> ... designed to serve as tokens of remembrance, friendship or affection, at that season of the year which ancient custom has particularly consecrated to the interchange of such memorials.[8]

It was issued in a small format and contained engravings of a high standard. It had stories, poems, genealogical tables of sovereigns and a chronicle for the year. These annuals were perfect gifts, providing a safe outlet to discuss the latest artistic and literary offerings. Kathryn Ledbetter described the success of one of the most sought after annuals as follows:

> The Keepsake championed domestic tranquillity; yet it also provided opportunities for women as editors and authors when women rarely found access to other careers, and it aggressively sought a new middle-class female readership by exploring the fantasies of escape from restrictive middle-class mores.[9]

It was not long before other publishers saw the marketing potential of such annuals and the Forget-Me-Not was soon followed by Friendship's Offering in 1824, edited by Thomas K. Hervey and in 1825 by The Literary Souvenir edited by Alaric A. Watts. S. C. Hall's The Amulet carved a particularly Christian ethos for itself. However, as Anne Renier claimed:

> Apart from a more solemn than romantic preoccupation with death, graves, churchyards, infanticide and the sufferings of slaves, and an occasional reference to angel visits, The Amulet differs not very much from its more secular companions.[10]

The anonymous writer of "The Annuals of Former Days" described the engravings in the early volumes of The Amulet as not being of great consequence but that through the good taste and initiative of its editor, they greatly improved as S. C. Hall was able to get the loan of excellent paintings of the English School.[11]

Hall's earliest story for The Amulet (1826) was "The Murmurer Instructed" (Fig. 5.1) and it exemplified the truth of Renier's appraisal. Featuring an angel visit, the suffering poor and the reform of a profligate youth, it had an uncharacteristic solemnity compared to her later writings. Her husband's excessive influence may have been the reason for this. It was just two years after their marriage and she was finding her literary feet. Given the limited range of opportunities open to women in this era, this task was made immeasurably easier through the help and encouragement of her husband and his contacts in

the publishing world. S. C. Hall took full credit for this role, describing her initiation into the world of letters in his Retrospect as follows:

> In 1825 Mrs. Hall had written nothing... Her first essay was brought about thus. One evening she was telling me some anecdotes of her old Irish schoolmaster, 'Master Ben.' Said I, 'I wish you would write about that just as you tell it.' She did so. I printed her story in The Spirit and Manners of the Age, a monthly periodical I then edited, and from that day dates her career as an author.[12]

Fig. 5.1 "The Murmurer Instructed" by R. Westall. The Amulet (1826).

Every year, at least one of Hall's works was included in The Amulet; "The Savoyards" (1827), "The Gipsy Girl" (1828), "The Mountain Daisy, a village sketch" and "The Rose of Fennock Dale" (1829), "Annie Leslie, an Irish tale" and "We'll see about it" (1830), "The Dispensation" (1831), "The Mosspits"(1832), "Lost Beauty," "The Trials of Grace Huntley" and "It's my Luck" (1833), "Ellen Ray" (1834), "Ronald Herbert, the Selfish Man" and "The Widow" (1835) and "The Drowned Fisherman" and "The Old Clock" in the final issue (1836). It is worth naming these tales as they were to appear again and again in different guises over the coming decades. For example "The Trials of Grace Huntley," which was first published in the 1833 annual was included in her publication entitled Tales of Woman's Trials published by Houlston & Son in 1834. An illustrated version was published by Chapman and Hall in 1847 and a play of the same title was performed in London in 1843.[13] This revealed the important role her contributions to the annual and periodical press played in shaping her subsequent career as a popular writer.

Her early breakthrough came about when Westley and Davis who published both The Amulet and the periodical The Spirit and Manners of the Age made an offer to Hall of £100 in 1828 to write several more sketches to add to the five already published in the pages of these publications. Effectively her career was launched with the publication in 1829 of the first series of Sketches of Irish Character. The interdependence of these publications could be seen in their advertising strategies. The Spirit and Manners of the Age reviewed the contents of The Amulet every year. As S. C. Hall was editor of both publications, the reviews, as would have been expected, were favourable. During this period, it was the accepted format that reviews would be anonymous. Anthony Trollope wrote:

> An ordinary reader would not care to have his books recommended to him by Jones; but the recommendation of the great unknown comes to him with all the weight of the Times, the Spectator, or the Saturday.[14]

The bias of an editor was frequently a giveaway and those who had contacts in the publishing world often knew the style and preferences of reviewers. However, the guessing added to the intrigue. Naturally this left the potential for authors to review their own books but journal editors who were anxious to preserve their standards ensured that this was not the case. Authors often requested reviews from colleagues, anticipating the likelihood of a sympathetic review. I have no doubt that S. C. Hall wrote reviews of his wife's work on occasion, especially for The Art-Union and she may have supplied reviews of his work but this was not unusual. Not all reviews were anonymous and clues were sometimes given. For example, an analysis of the annuals for 1829 was provided in The Spirit and Manners of the Age involving the editor and his friends: The Rev. Dr. B --, Mrs O -- and Miss L --. The review was substantial with the inclusion of generous excerpts, and presented in the format of a conversation between the reviewers on the merits of the illustrations and the stories.[15] As with reviewing, advertisements also played a vital publicity role. Taking up four pages of The Amulet for 1832, advertisements appeared for both series of Hall's Sketches of Irish Character in addition to her Chronicles of a

School Room, published (yet again by Westley and Davis) in 1830. Her annual for children, The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not was given a full page advertisement with details of its many high profile contributors.

In his Retrospect, S. C. Hall gave an account of his early editing experience with The Amulet which ran for a total of 11 volumes until 1836. He never received a salary for his work but was entitled to a share of the profits which were "little or none."[16] The worst of it was when the publisher Westley and Davis went bankrupt in 1837 and he unknowingly had been listed as a legal partner. Both Halls were badly affected by Westley and Davis's financial disaster as their many publications at this period were exclusively with them. With S. C. Hall's admission that he did not make a profit with The Amulet, it is difficult to gauge how much their joint earnings would have been in the late 1830s.

Apart from the annuals, S. C. Hall's monthly The Art-Union proved to be a highly significant vehicle for Hall's writings with signed contributions spanning decades rather than years, from 1840-67. On 15 February 1839, the first issue of The Art-Union appeared, priced 8d and consisting of eighteen pages.[17] The number of copies printed of the first issue was seven hundred and fifty.[18] By December 1847, an ad in The Art-Union proclaimed that the average circulation was 14,000 monthly, "a circulation second to that of no periodical in the empire." Whilst bearing in mind that periodicals frequently exaggerated circulation figures, it confirmed that it was a well established title. A full page advertisement for the August 1844 issue of The Art-Union, described the kind of articles to be found in the periodical: original essays; correspondence to the editor; reports on Societies and Exhibitions; obituaries; reviews and accounts of foreign art in addition to art in the provinces. There was also a note extending the possible audience to all sectors of the community by suggesting that it was "Especially recommended to families in which the Arts are studied as sources of rational and intellectual enjoyment."[19]

Hall was a regular contributor to The Art-Union and her writings evidently represented its ethos most satisfactorily. In a review of a new edition of her

book, Tales of Women's Trials, the anonymous commentator[20] added that he was:

> writing of one who is so intimately connected with this Journal – as one of its most frequent and, we may venture to add, most valuable contributors.[21]

Taking volume nine in 1847 as an example, the average number of pages per issue, written by Hall, amounted to five pages per month, with sixteen per cent of the total volume by her hand. This was the volume where Midsummer Eve was serialised but her average output per volume in a sample ten-year period from 1847-57 never dropped below twelve per cent. This figure is based on a survey of signed articles and commentaries and does not include unsigned works. Many book and exhibition reviews and miscellaneous topics in The Art-Union were unsigned so it is not unreasonable to suggest that with her editorial skills, she may well have contributed more than this.

As for the ethos of the periodical, Hall's contributions could have been helpful to the aspiring middle-classes in a number of ways: attracting a female audience to the periodical; widening the appeal of the periodical to those not immediately involved in art practice; writing about topics such as the benefits of good illustration for children's books; and the lasting impact of exposure to the principals of fine art and design.

Many of Hall's writings for The Art-Union were in the form of "Memories," "Sketches," and "Visits," - the feminine and anecdotal writings as outlined by Maitzen in my introduction to this chapter. In her "Memories of Pictures", the incidental snippets of information that peppered her discussion of artists and their lives were full of domestic detail, preambles and asides. They were a rich source of extra information and would undoubtedly have appealed to a female audience interested in background information about artists that Hall knew personally.

In 1846, she wrote a series of six "Pen & Ink Sketches" but only one was specifically about art. The majority of the sketches were taken from incidents in her own life, depicting neighbours and local characters, often Irish as with Jimmy Leary in "The End of the Season" in September 1846 or Mary Myler in

"Fairy Struck" in July 1846. There were frequent references to art nonetheless. Her "Pen and Ink Sketches" in 1846 may have been part of an attempt to widen the appeal of The Art-Union which struggled throughout the 1840s to make a profit. Just as the inclusion of monthly fictional stories in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (many submitted by Hall) helped set it apart from the more utilitarian and worthy periodicals of the time, so likewise the domestic nature of some of her writings might have been seen as a balance in The Art-Union. They provided accessible and readable entrées into the art world, side by side with the technical and professional essays that were the backbone of the periodical. In S. C. Hall's Retrospect, he acknowledged her enormous contribution to the periodical:

> And surely I may not forget the aid The Art Journal received in actual work as well as in sweet and wise counsel to me, its editor... Here she gave to my dry details concerning "The Thames" and "South Wales," the sparkling episodes from which they derived great value.[22]

A key thread running through many of the articles in The Art-Union in the first decade was the importance of high quality illustration and the willingness of artists to devote their labour for the education of the wider public. The anonymous commentator in the February 1847 issue, describing an illustration by Daniel Maclise, noted that it was:

> ...a beautiful and valuable addition to illustrated literature by an artist of high genius; and another proof that all our best painters do not consider themselves unworthily employed when ministering to the instruction and enjoyment of the many.[23]

In the April issue of The Art-Union, 1846, an article by Hall entitled "Thoughts on Juvenile Illustrated Literature" provided clues about a topic that was highly relevant to her own publishing endeavours. Writing specifically about some of the illustrated books published by Joseph Cundall, she was delighted to note the improvement that had taken place in "the light literature (so to call it) of childhood." Adamant that children needed sufficient time away from their

studies and an equal quantity of amusement to a "given quantity of mental labour" she rejoiced in the modern improvements:

> The coarse covers, inappropriate and ill-drawn illustrations, are succeeded by beautiful bindings that encourage a child to be careful; and the illustrations are of such a nature, as I have already said, as to create a feeling and love of the beautiful which cannot be taught at too early an age. The *education of the eye* in this pleasing manner is almost new to us; we hardly yet comprehend its vast importance and influence in the every-day arrangements of life.[24]

While she was effusive in her praise of the physical appearance of Cundall's publications, she did not hesitate to point out titles that were "more curious than suitable" or those that struck her as coarse and vulgar. She praised the illustrations by Franklin, Horsley, Cope and F. Taylor (all Royal Academy artists) and claimed in the same article that:

> ... these are but a few of the right good masters in Art who, enlightened by a new light, have not disdained to illustrate this *shilling series* of children's books. The little masters and misses will here-after be at no loss to recognise names in Art; they will be to them as old familiar friends.

As a child grows up, so too their taste matures as their well-educated eye appreciates harmony and beauty in every sphere in their lives. Hall went to great pains to point out that she was not advocating expensive habits for those who may not have the means to indulge them but saw the long term benefit of familiarity with the principles of well wrought art and appropriate design. "Habitual good order will prevent wasteful expenditure; and its soothing influence, felt rather than proclaimed, will extend like a halo around an habitation."[25] These didactic sentiments were entirely consistent with her overall oeuvre, where she encouraged her readers to learn and imitate that which emanated from sound principles of the best art and design.

From a professional point of view, S. C. Hall undoubtedly helped Hall's literary career, encouraging her to write from the outset, and ensuring that she

had numerous platforms from which to reach her audience. This section has focused exclusively on work produced for periodicals edited by her husband. It is evident that her husband was grateful for her extensive contributions. Not only did she add sparkle to his "dry details" but she helped to broaden the appeal of The Art-Union to a female audience with her many readable biographies and anecdotes about the artists and writers amongst her acquaintance.[26] Most importantly, she helped the ethos of the periodical by highlighting the benefits of good art and design. The next section examines their personal relationship to see if their professional lives and reputations created any challenges within their private domestic sphere.

Samuel Carter Hall: A Personal Relationship

By all accounts, the Halls appeared to have a close and loving relationship over nearly sixty years of marriage. Hall was loyal, trusting and supportive to her husband despite the fact that he made enemies and landed in financial and legal difficulties on a regular basis. The oft-quoted reference to Charles Dickens's dislike of him and the fact that he modelled the pompous Mr Pecksniff from Martin Chuzzlewit on S. C. Hall must have been a source of embarrassment to them.[27] While there may have been areas of minor contention between them, they appeared to complement each other in many important ways. Keane argued that Hall had to tread carefully with her husband in the early days of her career as he appeared to be somewhat jealous of his wife's sudden fame, fearful that it might eclipse his own reputation. Hall went to a great deal of trouble to ensure that domestic duties were never second to her responsibilities as an author and thus she was able to avoid humiliating her husband at such a crossroads in her own literary development.[28] In this section, I briefly examine his own literary skills, his carelessness in acknowledging all her contributions to what should have been further joint publications and his view of the strong-minded woman. I suggest that while she never overtly contradicted or went against her husband, some pockets of resistance do emerge, however subliminal they may have been. This is particularly evident in

many of her comments about men and marriage safely built into her fictional writings which will be discussed later in this chapter.

S. C. Hall never achieved the kind of literary success his wife enjoyed. While his Book of British Ballads was lauded as "one of the most outstanding British illustrated books of the Romantic period"[29] and his Retrospect remains an invaluable record of the people and values of his social circle, his real talents lay in his editorial abilities and the exceptional role he played in the promotion of British art in the nineteenth century. Contrary to Keane's assertion that he did not attempt fiction, he produced some short tales that were included in his annual The Amulet and were later listed as by his wife in the compilation Alice Stanley. It is possible to detect almost immediately the difference in the style of writing in for example "The Story of Edwin" (1828), "The Fisherman," "The Soldier's Wife," (1829) and "The Anxious Wife," (1830). There is no easy relationship between author and reader as there is in his wife's tales, there is a dull seriousness and the plots are insubstantial. He was more comfortable with poetry and most of his contributions to the annuals consisted of poems. He was a solemn poet as can be seen in the short and most likely personal poem entitled The Mother Tried in 1837.[30]

"Oh! Blessed is my baby boy!"
Thus spoke a mother to her child;
And kissed him with excess of joy –
He looked into her face and smiled.

But as the mother breathed his name,
The fervent prayer was scarcely said,
Convulsions shook his infant frame –
The mother's only hope was dead!

Yet still her faith in Him she kept,
On Him who turn'd to grief her joys;
And still she whisper'd, as she wept,
"Oh! Blessed *is* my baby boy!"

Hall never wrote poetry and it can be suggested that it was not something she was drawn to in comparison to other literary areas. She was certainly an admirer of Isaac Watts and worked with many poets during her career but in Chronicles of a Schoolroom, she expressed horror at schoolgirl doggerel:

> ... as slowly as a tangled skein is unravelled and an awful truth it was – Laura had been writing poetry! This was a misfortune I did not anticipate.[31]

This does not necessarily prove that she disliked her own husband's poetry but despite her attempts at all other branches of literature, the fact that she did not bother with poetry herself, may have indicated a resistance to it or an aversion to poetry that was second-rate.

In his Retrospect, S. C. Hall was able to have the last word on his wife's literary career. He acknowledged that "In all our joint books her pen was ever ready to labour side by side with mine."[32] He wrote of her nine novels and noted how they were long out of print. Contrary to what one would expect, he did not have copies of them all and was having difficulty obtaining them in catalogues of old books. Referring to her novels he stated that: "I hope before I leave earth to issue these nine volumes as a series – revised, annotated, and prefaced by me. I shall add to them much that is interesting."[33] The latter comment begs the question as to how he would revise them and in what way his additions would be interesting. According to his estimate she wrote "perhaps, two hundred and fifty volumes, including edited volumes, and small tracts that often may have done more vital service to humanity than her illustrated quartos." He emphasised the social dimension to her writing, her commitment to assisting needy children, fallen women, the temperance movement, retired governesses and street musicians. He appeared to value this aspect more than her literary prowess.

Although S. C. Hall states in his introduction to the third edition of A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age that the portraits owed much of their value to the aid he received from his wife, he omitted to include her name on the title page in any editions. It was first published in 1871, the second edition appeared in 1877 with an undated third edition. In The Art-Journal for

1865, the article on Amelia Opie from the Memories of the Authors of the Age , like many other in the series, is credited as by "S. C. Hall, F. S. A. and Mrs S. C. Hall." However, she gets no mention whatsoever in the introduction to the second edition and it was only in the third edition that he gave her any credit. He wrote in the introduction that "we have avoided reference to ourselves" in their memories which gave him the flexibility to give the reader the impression that the memories were all his. In the introduction he also stated:

> We have preserved but few of the many letters we received. It was our rule to destroy such as we thought ought not to be retained; we have given freely to collectors of Autographs; while, with a carelessness we deplore, we have destroyed manuscripts and communications we would now give much to have kept.[34]

The loss of these letters for posterity was surely a major oversight on their part. Coupled with that was the fact that he destroyed all her letters to him, so we are left with an incomplete account of their lives together. The same fate as in A Book of Memories awaited Hall when she was not given fair acknowledgement for The Vernon Gallery of British Art as discussed in Chapter 2. This readiness on his part to give her credit and yet withhold it in other areas resulted in an elevated sense of his own importance. Naturally it limited and diminished her actual output and reputation as a consequence. Curiously, it appeared that he wished to be included in her publication Pilgrimages to English Shrines. In the earliest serial versions in The Art Journal she most frequently used the personal pronoun but by the time the publication appeared, "I" was changed to "We." A simple example of this can be shown in her memory of Maria Edgeworth from The Art Journal in 1849:

> I saw no change in the well-known writing ... I *heard* of no failing; and in my letters I had hoped and planned for the future.[35]

Each "I" that I have underlined, was changed to "We," proof perhaps of S. C. Hall's insecurity and desire for control.

Significantly S. C. Hall is not given an entry of his own in The Maclise Portrait Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters with Memoirs but is subsumed within his wife's entry. As the commentator remarks:

> I make no apology, for in this 'marriage of true minds' the husband is truly identified with the wife, and the one and the other so strictly formed what has been called a 'dual unit' that a single narrative must perforce contain a record of both.[36]

This realignment of their reputations must have rankled with S. C. Hall who always emphasised the important role he played in her development as a writer. He is often quoted as playing down her editorial skills, pointing out her lack of interest in the dry arts of proofing and suggesting that his wife did not always even remember the stories that she had written.[37] However, most contemporary commentators saw her as the superior writer of the two. The fact that the same approach was taken with the recently published Dictionary of Irish Biography (2009) confirms the opinion of posterity, despite S. C. Hall's best efforts. Even though he lived in Ireland until 1822 and made an invaluable contribution to the country, especially through his hard work on Ireland, his wife's higher Irish profile and allegiance eclipsed his own. However, a glance through the collection of twenty-five letters from S. C. Hall to John Windele in the Royal Irish Academy provides a snapshot of the hard work, the deadlines, the frustrations of illustrators who let him down and the pressure of covering thirty-two counties in twenty-four parts.[38] While Peter Finlay[39] is convinced that the bulk of the writing of this three-volume work was by Hall, the superior writer of the two, there is no doubt that her husband worked extremely hard to compile the information, images and legends from antiquarian authorities in Ireland. The full extent of who exactly did what in such an ambitious project such as Ireland may never be fully analysed. Nonetheless commentators then and now acknowledge their joint dedication to the cause of encouraging the English to visit Ireland.

With regard to women's rights, both Halls wrote of their horror of the strong-minded woman who sought equality on every level with man. On several occasions Hall wrote about characters wanting to change places or clothes. In Nelly Nowlan and Other Stories, Nelly experienced some of these "unnatural" women in England and wrote back to her aunt in Ireland about a Mrs Creed who spent a great deal of time writing about the rights of woman insisting that she really should change places with her husband, a Police Inspector. To the

enormous hilarity of all present, Mr Creed dressed up in his wife's clothes and announced that he was happy to change places with his wife if she really wanted (Fig. 5.2). Terrified by the implications, Mrs Creed reforms and the "natural" order is resumed.

> The vanity that takes a woman from the sacred duties of home to display her weakness abroad – and unsexes her – strikes at the root of our domestic happiness.[40]

Hall had to work in a male environment, amongst those who could create obstacles and make life difficult for her. She had to walk a fine line with her husband who found it difficult to be the less famous partner. She herself knew exactly what it was like to change places but she stood to lose much if she had not also played the role of the dutiful wife to perfection. In a reference to a visit to Hannah More when Hall was not long married, she recalled that whatever throwaway remark she had made More quickly replied:

"Controversy hardens the heart and sours the temper. Never dispute with your husband, young lady; tell him what you think and leave it to time to fructify."[41] Hall appeared to have lived this advice at all times.

Fig. 5.2 "Changed Places" by William Small. Nelly Nowlan (1865).

Finally, Hall's novel Can Wrong Be Right? was dedicated to her husband. On a superficial level, it seems odd that she would dedicate a novel which at its heart tells the tale of a most unhappy marriage. The central male hero did not love the heroine but asked her to marry him on the rebound from another passionate relationship. The heroine's devoted love was constant throughout the novel and she was almost prepared to die to permit him the

freedom to be rid of her. Of all the novels to choose to dedicate to her husband, it seemed strange. However, it was also one of her best novels and for this reason she may have made this choice. Hall was pragmatic and her letters often show a real concern for the welfare of her husband from a professional and personal point of view. He may indeed have tried her patience on many occasions but there are many other examples that revealed their genuine love and respect for each other.

The next section highlights Hall at the helm of her professional world. It focuses on the annuals and periodicals she edited and examines her views on the rewards, but more crucially, the challenges facing a woman author in mid-nineteenth century London.

"A Life of No Light Toil – Daily and Nightly Hours of Hard Work."[42]
Hall the Professional Writer and Editor.

The second section of this chapter explores some of Hall's own experiences as an editor in the periodical press, namely with The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not, one of the earliest published children's annuals which she edited from 1829-1837,[43] Sharpe's London Magazine, which she edited in 1852 and also St. James's Magazine where she was the magazine's first editor from 1861-62. The latter two publications were short-lived editorial runs but were important appointments nonetheless. Monthly journals were more lucrative than the weeklies so such a position was professionally as well as economically rewarding.[44] Her comment on the hard work involved, as quoted in the caption for this section, revealed the amount of effort required to survive as a professional writer. The rigorous demands of editorial work included the pressures of deadlines, negotiating with contrary and tardy contributors and competitive markets, with, as we have seen with her husband's experience, unpredictable financial reward. The Halls frequently experienced financial difficulties but the regularity of remuneration from articles and stories reproduced in the periodical press ensured a modicum of stability during difficult times. Details of the extent of the financial rewards are shown in my case study of Chambers' publishers in Chapter 6. This section also looks at the extent to which Hall referred to the profession of writing in her

fictional work and its suitability as an option for women. Compared to the frequency of her use of the governess as the standard choice through which to gain acceptable independence, there are relatively few examples but I will discuss two such works. In "The Curse of Property," the heroine becomes financially independent through her literary application and skill but the most extensive treatment is in A Woman's Story in which the fictitious writer, Helen Lyndsey, enjoys acclaim but also experiences the transient nature of popularity.

Hall's growing reputation as a writer, led to her editorial appointments which in turn helped to market her own work. Her first major position was as editor of The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not. Many of the women who earned a living with the annuals found a new and profitable audience in the juvenile market.[45] These annuals adhered to the didactic school as expounded by Mary Sherwood (1775-1851), Edgeworth and others, where moral stories, prayers and homilies were expected and delivered.

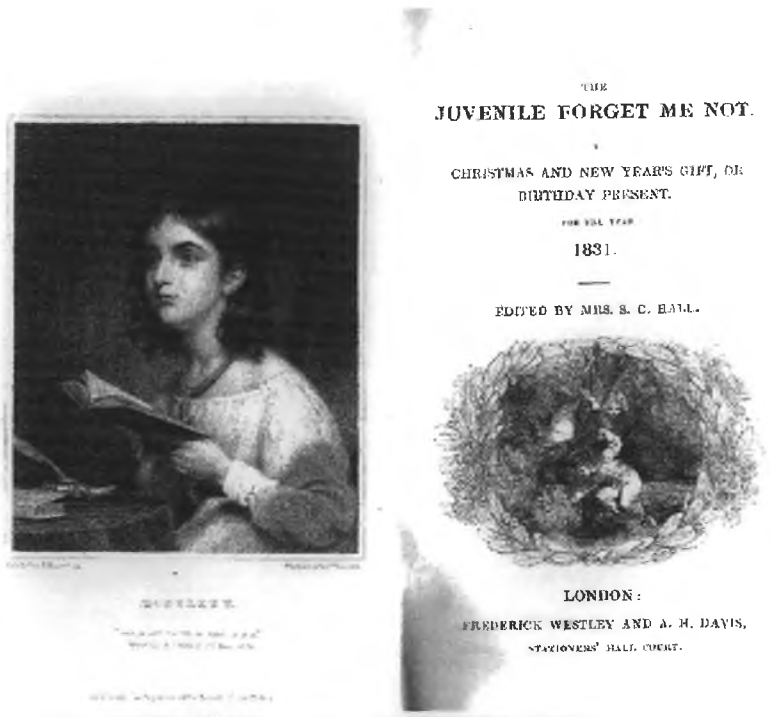

THE
JUVENILE FORGET ME NOT.
CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S GIFT, OR
BIRTHDAY PRESENT.
1831.
EDITED BY MRS. S. C. HALL.
LONDON:
FREDERICK WESTLEY AND A. H. DAVIS,
STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

Fig. 5.3 Title page and Frontispiece The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1831)

Frequent themes involved childhood mortality, poverty and avoiding cruelty to others and to animals. The chief contributors to The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not

during her reign as editor included Hall herself (19 items), Maria Jewsbury (14), Mary Howitt (13) and Letitia E. Landon (12). (See Appendix K also).
The greatest care was taken with the "embellishments" (the engravings) because, as demonstrated already, the Halls championed contemporary British artists and Hall ensured that the engravings were wholly appropriate for her audience. The frontispiece, title page and dedication page contributed to the "look" of the journal, the dedication page remaining unchanged throughout the years.[46] (Fig. 5.4) She took her responsibilities towards her young friends, whom she addressed in her prefaces, very seriously indeed. Besides Hall, other women contributors found a steady source of income through the annuals. Joanne Shattock listed Letitia Landon as earning £2,500 a year at her peak with Caroline Norton (1808-77) reputedly earning £1,400 a year on her literary work alone. While popular demand existed, writing for the annuals proved lucrative. Hall formed solid professional relationships with such women and many of them were personal friends and contributors to her later works. The compendium nature of the annuals and the timing of their production influenced publishing for the juvenile market, sowing the seeds of demand not only for the seasonal children's annual but also for beautifully illustrated books.

However, the market for children was not always given equal weight as that for adults and poor quality engravings were sometimes reissued and recycled rather than commissioned especially for their audience.

Fig. 5.4 Dedication. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1831). Annotated "A. M. S. 1875."

Whalley and Chester have also addressed the fact that the art in the children's annuals reflected an earlier era with a fondness for sober neo-classical depictions (Fig. 5.5) rather than the art styles of the current time.[47] As the century progressed, a conscious effort was gradually made in the actual depiction of children. They were no longer shown as young adults but there was a heightened awareness of their difference in dress, behaviour and needs. The

sense of fun and enjoyment for the young reader is evident in the contrast between Browne's illustration (Fig. 5.6) compared to the gravity of the earlier plates (Figs. 5.3 and 5.5)

As was the case with her publications for The Amulet, so too were her stories in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not used again in later publications. The most important title was The Juvenile Budget: or Stories for Little Readers first published by Chapman and Hall in 1837. This consisted of over 20 stories by Hall, originally published in her juvenile annual and compiled together in this publication which had at least one other edition in 1840. A similar compilation of her stories entitled The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not was produced by T. Nelson in 1862.

Fig. 5.5 "The Princess Victoria" by H. Corbould. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1829)
Fig. 5.6 "Gaspard and his Dog" by H. Browne. The Juvenile Budget (1840).

In July 1852, Hall was offered the position as editor of Sharpe's London Magazine, a position she was to hold for only six months. At this time, she was

more than well placed to take on that role. Her reputation as a writer was fully established and she had good contacts through her experience with the annuals and The Art-Union so the practical business side of editing was second nature to her. Sharpe's London Magazine (1845-70) was originally called Sharpe's London Journal. According to Sally Mitchell, its tone and content fluctuated with its frequently changed editors.[48] Some, like Frank Smedley, the editor from 1847-49, favoured a light and humorous touch, whilst other anonymous editors of later years highlighted social topics and scientific tracts. Its format remained consistent over the years with a combination of serialised novels, short fiction, essays and comments on literature, theatre and the arts. Starting off as a three-halfpenny weekly and changing to a one shilling monthly in January 1848, it competed initially for the same market as Chambers's Edinburgh Journal. However, Sharpe's illustrations provided an extra appeal for readers and the serialised novels made it livelier than its more worthy rival. Sharpe's readership was broadly lower middle class, with a preference for short but wide-ranging articles and stories.

The preface for Volume 15 heralded the arrival of Hall as follows:

> Its subscribers will have seen that a change in the management of the work has already commenced; hereafter it will be placed more directly under the conduct of Mrs S. C. Hall; and, in announcing this arrangement, the publishers feel assured that this accomplished lady, whose writings have been so useful, and who is so greatly popular among readers of all classes, will give to this magazine a high character among the Periodical Publications of the age ... [49]

The anonymous author of this preface which is dated June 1852 wrote about the planned improvements for the magazine; greater skill in arranging the articles, a new typeface and better paper, with the overall aim, of course, of increasing circulation figures for the magazine. The Halls lost no time in making their presence felt and a two-page advertisement for The Art Journal was included at the end of this volume, listing Mrs S. C. Hall amongst the learned art historians and eminent contributors listed in the advertisement. Further

advertisements appeared in her other volumes with Volume 1 of the New Series promoting The Art Journal in addition to the second series of her Pilgrimages to English Shrines and her fairytale Midsummer Eve (1848).

Volume 16 (Volume I New Series) 1852 was officially her first volume as editor at Sharpe's London Magazine. Her first preface radiated enthusiasm for her new project and she extolled the excellent value of the magazine which boasted many highly regarded contributors. Though not remembered greatly today, writers such as Frederika Bremer (1801-65), Dinah Maria Mulock (1826-87), Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858) and Frank Smedley (1816-64) were sought after and wrote extensively for Sharpe's. Hall had a clear idea of what she hoped to achieve over the following months and pointed out the non-sectarian ethos of the magazine and also her keen sense of the family market and the importance of providing items of interest for all the family.

The layout had indeed improved greatly for this new series with a pleasing clarity about the new typeface and page headers. Two high quality line engravings were included with each issue and there was an increase in the amount of poetry selected for the magazine. A new section was also included in each part entitled "Books and their Authors." Barbara Onslow suggested that this section, although unsigned was penned by Hall, based on the fact that subjects close to her heart were highlighted: Irish topics, Dr Wilde's writings on superstition, several notes about Thomas Moore, recent writings by good friends such as the Howitts, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the Stricklands and reviews of new children's books and magazines.such as E. J. May's Louis School Days and a new children's magazines.[50] Some of the notes in the sections on "Books and their Authors" could however have been written by S. C. Hall, especially in the later columns of Volume 1, New Series, which were more serious in tone and long-winded. Several paragraphs of the November issue also referred to Hall's own writings, her Pilgrimages to English Shrines and Marian. As editor, she herself would not have been in a position to do this without being accused of puffery so he may have written these sections also. S. C. Hall claimed that she could "affix her signature to at least a thousand reviews of published books," that she reviewed many books for him but none that were "either to be

Sharpe's would indicate that she did not write all of these reviews but as these sections were frequently left anonymous, as was the standard practice, it is difficult to confirm who wrote them.

Hall had a number of her own stories included in Sharpe's London Magazine in the late 1840s and early 1850s but throughout her tenure as editor, this increased as would have been expected. Her stories included "Nelly Nowlan's Experience," "The Lucky Penny," and "Helen Lyndsey."[52] Sally Mitchell has remarked on the fact that the novels in Sharpe's tended to have been in rather short instalments compared to other magazines. Two years was the average length for a Victorian serialised novel.[53] Apart from her serialised stories, Hall wrote widely on many other invariably Irish topics, such as a piece on "Youghal Church" in July 1852 and a series of "Letters from Ireland" in October and November 1852, all signed A. M. H.

Fig. 5.7 "Oh! Forgive Me" by William Small. Nelly and Peggy in Nelly Nowlan (1865).

Her serialised story "Nelly Nowlan" was given its own publication when Nelly Nowlan and other Stories was published by T. Nelson and Sons in 1865 (Fig. 5.7) and another edition in 1870. The heroine's story as an Irish girl in service in England, writing home to her aunt in Ireland, was obviously a very popular one at a time when emigration was so commonplace.

Hall certainly could have made her mark with this magazine but whatever the nature of her disagreement with the new proprietor after George Virtue sold it, she never had the opportunity to develop her plans for the magazine over a worthwhile period of time. Once the repeal of the stamp duty on paper came about in 1855, with the subsequent drop in paper prices and attendant

about in 1855, with the subsequent drop in paper prices and attendant competition in the market, Sharpe's London Magazine did not itself survive particularly long. Its decline was evident in the excessive summaries, quotations and uncritical reviews reproduced within its pages until it ceased in 1870.

Hall's reign as editor of the St. James's Magazine (1861-62) was to last marginally longer than with Sharpe's London Magazine and at least she had the satisfaction of being invited by proprietor John Maxwell to set it up, thus having more control of it from the start. The first issue appeared in April 1861 with her last issue published in April 1862. S. C. Hall said that they did not know very much about Maxwell and rumour had it that her tenure would be brief. They did not discover this until after she had signed the agreement and according to S. C. Hall, she only met Maxwell twice in the year that she worked there.[54] Mary Braddon (1837-1915), the successful "sensation" author[55] and future editor of the magazine Belgravia, succeeded Hall as editor and remained until 1867. Braddon was a common law wife of John Maxwell's from the early 1860s until they married in 1874.[56] Maxwell had arranged for Braddon to work one day a week in 1861 on the St. James's Magazine under Hall's supervision, thus serving her apprenticeship and ultimately groomed for the editorial chair. She learned first hand from Hall, the necessary skills of copy-editing, how best to sooth and encourage authors and reviewers and how to deal with the endless constraints of finding suitable contributors, at the right price, out of the many unsolicited manuscripts that inevitably added to the work load of any popular magazine.[57]

The St. James's Magazine was published by W. Kent & Co and was set up to rival the Cornhill Magazine (1860-1975), one of the first and most successful of the shilling monthlies to emerge in the 1860s. The Cornhill boasted some of the bestselling authors of the period and the first issue alone included Anthony Trollope's Framley Parsonage and William Thackeray's Roundabout Papers. Other contributors to the Cornhill included Arthur Conan Doyle, George Eliot, Thomas Hardy, Elizabeth Browning and John Ruskin. The first number sold an astonishing 120,000 copies and initially was thought to reassure critics that readers wanted serious as well as lightweight

entertainment. However, it proved too literary for many readers who left for rival magazines such as the more middle brow St. James's Magazine.[58]

From the outset, Hall announced her programme for the magazine as aiming "to promote the Interests of Home, the Refinements of Life and the Amusement and Information of all Classes." In her preface dated July 1861, signed by Hall and with an address listed as Bannow Lodge, Boltons, West Brompton, she acknowledged that "to obtain is more easy than to maintain success." She assured readers that the proprietor, editor and contributors would not relax their efforts to ensure continued standards of excellence. In her Preface to the November 1861 volume, she felt confident that "the Magazine has kept pace with the expectations that were formed of it."

A glance through the Contents pages for her volumes of St. James's Magazine revealed the extent to which she utilised her many literary connections. Regular contributions were included from the works of well-known novelists and poets such as Anthony Trollope, Thomas Hood, Mary Howitt, Mrs Newton Crosland and Frederika Bremer, some of whom she had worked with on Sharpe's London Magazine and elsewhere. Mrs Merrifield, F. W. Fairholt and Professor Ansted were colleagues from The Art Journal and Robert Hunt, Thomas Heaphy and Standish G. Grady were acquaintances of her husband.

Fig. 5.8 "Can Wrong Be Right: The Surprise" by H. Browne. St. James's Magazine 1861.

Looking at the complete run of St. James's Magazine, Hall was probably one of its most successful writers. Her novel "Can Wrong Be Right?" which was serialised throughout 1861-62, with accompanying plates by Hablot Browne (Fig. 5.8) was considered to be one of her best novels and was published in a two-volume publication in 1862. Shorter articles by Hall were also included (as

in Sharpe's) and one of her innovations was the inclusion of "A Story for the Young of the Household." These stories, some of them autobiographical as discussed in Chapter 4 ensured that the family audience was addressed. As the century progressed there was increasing evidence of a market for children's columns and pages in these family magazines.[59] Some magazines gave a token nod with the inclusion of a poem or two or a short moral tale such as in some of the early issues of Sharpe's but Hall's commitment to children and their education and entertainment was never in doubt.[60] Her children's stories from St. James's Magazine were compiled as Chronicles of Cosy Nook in 1875.

Although it must have been a disappointment when she left St. James's Magazine, the quality of her editorial skills were never in doubt. There was optimism about her plans for the magazine, an enthusiasm that bore fruit in the wide range of literary, scientific and travel articles selected during her short tenure. Hall's experiences with these two periodicals were significant though short-lived. The exponential growth of the illustrated press in the first half of the nineteenth century stimulated competition and interest amongst an ever-widening public. There was a great demand for art, literature and news amongst the middle classes. Annuals and periodicals undoubtedly had a distinctive role to play in popularising the work of many contemporary writers and artists.

The two fictional accounts by Hall that I have chosen that highlight the literary life for women are the sketch "The Curse of Property" (1835) and the novel A Woman's Story (1857). Despite an almost two-decade difference, similar themes emerge: the need to be independent due to economic factors; the meteoric rise to fame; the social obligations that went with a literary career; and most importantly the potential conflict between femininity and authorship. Alice Lee, the heroine of "The Curse of Property" had to leave Ireland due to bad debts by her Anglo-Irish family but she settled in Paris and thanks to "some persons of literary distinction" discovered that "her powerful and clear mind was capable of great efforts, and much usefulness." [61] She was the toast of Paris, much to chagrin of the relatives who had treated her so badly:

> The thing was impossible – what! The little pug-nosed girl, who had never been to school, to be praised in the newspapers, and

> thought much of by learned people, - for *her* to write a book, a whole book, who had learned to hold her pen from a village school-master! [62]

Hall emphasised that Alice was not one who put on airs just because of her superior intelligence. She was certainly not one of those "morbid literary ladies ... who sigh and sentimentalise over their being obliged to appear before the public, and yet use every justifiable and unjustifiable mode of forcing celebrity."[63] She remained humble and above all, Christian, and, as in many of Hall's tales, the heroine did her duty according to the state of life that it had pleased God to call her. The driving force behind Alice's efforts to make a success of her literary career was the necessity to be independent. It was the lack of this vital quality that destroyed the estate of her clan at Barrybrooke but thanks to Alice's Christian ethos, she got her "revenge" on her despicable relatives by helping them in every way that was within her power. Hall described the nobility of her motives and the real secret of her popularity thus: "Though she became an *author*, she had not ceased to be a *woman*."[64]

It was in her novel A Woman's Story that we find Hall addressing the life of a professional woman writer with greater detail and passion. It was serialised as "Helen Lyndsey – The Star" in Sharpe's London Magazine, the first episode appearing in Issue 2, January 1853 but it remained unfinished as a serial in Sharpe's after Issue 3, July 1853. It was eventually published four years later as a three-volume novel by Hurst and Blackett. It is tempting to read into the novel, many of Hall's views of the literary world, the high and low points and the constant struggle to make a living. Helen, the heroine was a playwright whose first work achieved instant acclaim and she was the new star in London, invited to all the soirées and fêted and courted by friends and socialites.

Like Alice in "The Curse of Property", Helen had to work hard to pay off her father's many debts and she did not spare herself in the process. "I have steeped my head in water and trimmed my lamp, and worked."[65] To compound the situation, her father was very ill and she had to look after him while working at her writing. This sense of responsibility was very real in the lives of working women who cared for the extended family at home. Hall received a letter from

the novelist, Anne Manning (1807-79) for whom her novel struck a chord. Manning was referring to her father's dementia and restless fits:

> He then fancies that this is not his house, and that we are not his children, but are keeping him from them, by force ... Indeed, I cannot tell you how your Helen Lyndsay's [sic] exclamation came home to my heart – 'Now, is not this, agony?'[66]

Hall had responsibilities also. Her mother lived with them until her death in 1856.[67] Two of S. C. Hall's sisters stayed with them for long periods and she was frequently called upon to assist with finding a situation or putting in a recommendation for nieces and nephews from S. C. Hall's extended family.

Keeping up with the social round of invitations and autograph-signing for a leading literary figure was challenging and took the author away from her art. How to unite the duties of society with the duties of literature was a problem for Hall too and Nobody, her narrator in A Woman's Story, recommended to Helen that she fix an "at home" day for such events, just as Hall herself had "Thursday at Homes [sic]."[68] However, literary soirées were gratifying to any emerging author as Hall conveyed in her account of the gathering at the home of Mrs Joseph Green where the "world of fashion met world of letters."[69] In A Woman's Story, Sir Walter Scott[70] sought out Helen, the author who had been "praised in 'Blackwood' and abused in the 'Quarterly',"[71] and their intense conversation proved to be a turning point for Helen. During periods of literary block, such invitations to social events encouraged procrastination:

> Any literary-worker will give God thanks to have the winding-up of a sentence postponed, or the last line of a poem broken into fragments by the sudden presence or happy laugh of a child.[72]

Apart from the parties, there were other expectations that took time and there is no doubt that Hall was thinking of her own life style when she referred to the philanthropic work, committee work, her advice to writers and the frustration of other writers stealing ideas.

The problem with any rising star was that there was an inevitable downward trajectory anticipated at some point in the future. Audiences were fickle, appointments political and the best artists sometimes never got a chance

to shine. The obvious candidate to play the leading female role in Helen's play was bypassed in favour of an actress who had to be appointed because of her theatrical connections and reputation otherwise the theatre would suffer major repercussions. The integrity of the author's work was therefore dissipated by circumstances outside her control. Helen's initial anonymity was typical of the period. Audiences and critics were equally intrigued and excited by the new writer, wondering who he or she could be, attempting to determine the gender, class and identity of the author through the play itself. Hall was only too aware of how fast fashions could change and it was a theme that was evident in other novels also. Despite the beauty, rarity and popularity of Mildred Kennett's embroidery in Can Wrong Be Right? the author made it abundantly clear that next season something entirely different would replace interest in her designs. Hall's experience in many areas of literary practice may have reflected her own experience in the literary marketplace.[73] In A Woman's Story, Hall highlighted the difficulty of making a living if not paid adequately for hard work. Helen's frustration is likewise expressed as follows:

> But what other reward have I for the long, long struggle with the rapacity of publishers – the ignorance of editors – the taunts of the illiberal against a working woman, - the long, long nights and days of labour?"[74]

One cannot but think back to Hall's editorial position at Sharpe's and how this very novel, "Helen Lyndsey," was cut short due to the change of editor. In this light, it was no wonder that the vexations and vagaries of a writing career were foremost in her mind. The marketplace by the 1850s was competitive and Helen had to turn from her plays to make a living in other areas. Short poems only earned small sums but long poems were too difficult to dispose of because of the crowded market. Helen "worked prose to order – so many pages of humour subdued by so many pages of pathos."[75] This self-consciousness regarding her work reflected the economic necessity driving the work of authors and the difficulties compared to several decades earlier "when authors were not as numerous as roses in June."[76]

Through her heroine, who was portrayed as a flawed woman by the conservative standards of the period, Hall had the freedom to explore opinions that she could not have expressed otherwise. On the one hand she outlined the furthest extremes of non-acceptable female behaviour such as when her character Nobody described the aggressive and "blue" woman journalist at a social gathering.

> She had been a newspaper reviewer and gave vent to sundry small bitternesses by way of wit; she had a most unfeminine talent for contradiction, and differed from everyone within her sphere, declaring she never read a book which became universally popular, because as a free woman, she would not be led by the mass.[77]

As described in the above section, the strong-minded woman was threatening to men and women and did not know how to behave socially: "This literary Amazon, who talked over my head, and across me, to the extent of flourishing her fork in my face."[78] Again Hall returned to this frequent theme, that of the clever woman and the idea of cross dressing or exchanging roles – seen literally in (Fig. 5.2). In Marian another dreaded attendee of literary gatherings was the pretentious bore, the "literary lioness" and miniature Madame de Staël that was Lady Bab Hesketh. According to Keane, Lady Bab was a none-too-subtle satirisation of Lady Morgan, complete with her harp and devoted following.[79] Hall was again exaggerating and mimicking the negative stereotype of these female extremes and positioning her own heroine at a more acceptable point on the scale, knowingly aware of the effectiveness of this strategy.

More than in other novels and to a much greater degree than in "The Curse of Property," Hall had the freedom to express her opinions, through Helen, about how life differed for a woman. Boys had many options open to them from youth - professions, trades, a life as a sailor or a soldier, the ministry or the law – "the boy's 'bent' is discovered" and whatever his inclination, an effort is made to support his calling. However:

> ... no matter what are the differences made by nature in girls, they must all work in the same mill, be all pumice-stoned to the same consistency, and learn all the same things.[80]

Most tellingly, Helen spoke of her desire for immortality "to bring proof that the mind is of no sex."[81] This was radical for Hall, a plea for recognition of intellectual equality, not the assumed subservience and obsequiousness that was publicly acceptable and expected. Hall's heroine can safely express all these opinions and at the conclusion of the novel be "reformed,"[82] keeping Hall's own reputation untarnished.

In the final section of this chapter, more overt examples will be shown to demonstrate how Hall may have, on occasion, given S. C. Hall some cause for alarm with her less than flattering commentary on those not of her own gender.

The Communality of Women

The following illustration (Fig. 5.9) is an imaginary recreation of the literary women of 1836 sipping tea together. It appeared in Fraser's Magazine a year after a related image of Fraserian men was published, depicting a somewhat larger group of twenty-seven eminent men drinking claret and ale. Maclise provided the portraits and William Maginn the biographies of these illustrious literary characters of the period. Maginn, like Maclise, was also from Cork and he was the editor of Fraser's Magazine. He was notorious for his irreverent commentary, inaccurate though entertaining accounts, and his scandal-mongering.[83] Despite the condescending and frequently lewd remarks of Maginn about his subjects,[84] this image serves to highlight the regard in which Hall was held, a decade after her earliest writings. She knew all of the women present, had met them, corresponded with them and had written appreciations when Jane Porter and Mary Mitford died. They were all included in her husband's Retrospect and A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age.

Fig 5.9 "Regina's Maids of Honour" by Daniel Maclise. Fraser's Magazine 13 Jan. (1836). Reproduced in William Bates, The Maclise Portrait Gallery (1898).
Left and anti-clockwise: Servant with tray of tea, Hall, Letitia Elizabeth Landon in profile, Lady Sydney Morgan (back of seat facing out), Caroline Norton (pointing at book), Marguerite Blessington (standing far right), Jane Porter (with mantilla), Harriet Martineau, Mary Mitford (sipping tea beside Anna Maria Hall).

This section completes Chapter 5 with a study of Hall's relationships within a community of literary women. As stated in my introduction to this chapter, I have examined her preference for her heroines over her heroes and also the fact that she saw herself as addressing predominantly female readers. Finally, through a selection of letters from well-known women who regularly corresponded with Hall, I have explored a microcosm of the support network she participated in, where she encouraged other writers, shared family concerns and discussed professional literary matters.

Hall made no secret of the fact that she enjoyed writing about her central female characters but found it difficult to become enthusiastic when it came to her leading males. Chapter 3 demonstrated how she idealised her Irish women

but was dismissive and impatient with the limitations of the Irish male. A typical example can be seen in her conclusion to the sketch "The Wise Thought": "The bride, of course, looked lovely and 'sheepish;' and the bridegroom – but bridegrooms are always uninteresting."[85] This pattern extended equally to writings set in England as in an example from Uncle Horace (1837):

> A hero is supposed to deserve peculiar attention at a lady's hand: and yet I do not know how it is, but I take far more pleasure in recording the actions, and developing the character of my heroines. I love my own sex – I would rather, ten to one, repeat the conversations of Lady Ellen – of Mary Lorton – or even chronicle the occasion of Magdalene's tears, than describe the feelings of Harry Mortimer...[86]

Her earliest novels did indeed engage with male protagonists such as the complex Hugh Dalton, Robin Hays and Oliver Cromwell in The Buccaneer, Sir Everard Sydney and Ralph Bradwell in The Outlaw and The Whiteboy featured a number of well-rounded central male characters such as Edward Spencer and Abel Richards. She underestimated her ability to create male characters although, as shown in Chapter 3 with Midsummer Eve, she was not always equally successful in this respect. Despite the critical emphasis on the domestic elements, the male scenarios in The Buccaneer with the smugglers and the intrigue associated with the Protectorate are taut and exciting. Her skill in writing for the theatre was evident in her sense of dramatic timing and awareness of the need for frequent climaxes. If anything, it was the complexity of the numerous plots that detracted from its overall success, rather than its alleged feminine qualities. The following visualisation of The Buccaneer reveals the masculine thrust of the novel, with male names predominating, quite different in content from that of a later work: All is Not Gold that Glitters (1841). In the latter example, women's names emerge. Words such as "thought," "heart," "woman," "lady," and "child" are in stark contrast to more urgent words such as "now," "must," "time" "man" and "know."

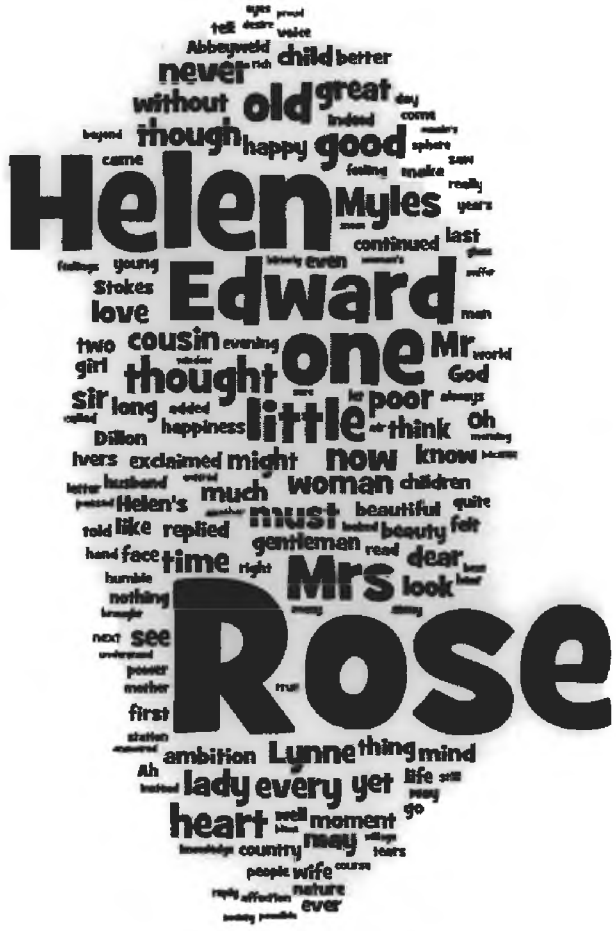


Fig. 5.10 Visualisation of All is not Gold that Glitters (1841)

Fig. 5.11 Visualisation of The Buccaneer (1831)

This rhetoric where she feigns disinterest in her male characters can be seen as an example of how her ekphrastic discourse and her glosses on gender become part of Hall's *écriture féminine*. By alerting the reader to her position she creates an environment which highlights the femininity of her language, style and tone whilst simultaneously permitting greater flexibility in how she refers to her male characters. In other words it is a tactical ploy where she can get away with what she says and still remain a "proper" woman despite her frank portraits of male characters. It is a balancing act which could misfire but as she includes more than enough instances confirming her horror of the strong-minded woman and reaffirming womanly core duties that she succeeds in convincing her readers and her critics.[87] Within her domestic novels there were many instances when a husband or male character was portrayed in a less than flattering light. Lady Bab's husband in Marian was one such example, who was "singularly tame and gentlemanly-looking" and was a "sort of hanger-on to his wife's reputation... and frequently formed a sort of soft undulating accompaniment to his wife's eloquence, which he was very politely careful not to interrupt."[88] The secondary characters of many of her novels featured husbands and wives where the woman was clearly in control, often much stronger and less likeable than the quieter male. Two such examples from A Woman's Story were Mr and Mrs Lyndsey, Helen's parents, and Mr and Mrs Brevet-Major Cobbs. Mr Lyndsey was a man of few ideas and few words: "Absent when present and had as well never be present at all."[89] The Brevet-Major Cobbs had a somewhat similar dynamic: "the Major had, to a *certain degree* his own way which, I have observed, is generally quite as much as any married man can accomplish."[90] Finally Mr Cavendish Jones was completely sidelined by his overbearing wife in Marian. These weak men were nonetheless much more sympathetic to the central heroines, often taking their side of the story as a foil to the cruelty of their spouses. Hall has the freedom to say what she wants about these characters as she provides this balance that reassures her readers.

These tropes of marital relationships found a ready audience with her female readers who were seduced by the emotional connection to the

imaginary scenarios that both reflected and extended the reader's experience. Kate Flint has highlighted the whole area of reading in the Victorian and Edwardian period and how it affected women in particular. On the one hand, reading was seen as vital with its potential to encourage and inspire but she quotes from Archdeacon Hare to express the other side of the coin:

> ... desultory reading is very mischievous, by turning the memory into a common sewer for rubbish of all sorts to float through, and by relaxing the power of attention.[91]

Nina Baym has written of some of the widely perceived dangers of novel reading:

> In gratifying the self, novels foster self-love and a tendency to self-assertion that make the mind ungovernable and thus jeopardise the agencies of social and psychological control.[92]

The fact that novels had the capacity to absorb the reader, and the assumption that most readers were either women or young people, led to the fear that it would be an addictive pleasure. Surrendering to this literary gratification instilled in the reader a sense of empowerment which was at odds with the critic's desire that a novel should have higher aims.[93] Janice Radway, in a more modern context, has claimed that reading is "incipiently oppositional."[94] Novels by Hall formed part of the popular culture of her era and reading such literature meant that women were taking time out from attending to the family in order to focus on themselves. The text may provide pleasure to the reader in a number of complex ways; through the recognition of stereotypes, acknowledgement of the formula and comparison with others of the genre; and identification with heroines who assert themselves in various dramatic situations. Readers approach texts in a variety of ways, lazily as well as intensely and while domestic novels may appear at first glance to be deeply conservative, the reader is not by any means subsumed within what may appear initially to be a strict socialising narrative. As in Hall's references to her weaker male characters, the potential to display "deviant" opinions can be carried effectively within the novel.

Angela McRobbie has defined the various ways that popular culture can affect readers.[95] Popular culture can be seen as cheap, exploitative and superficial where less privileged readers are enslaved by low culture. Similarly it can be part of a ruling class "conspiracy thesis" where the dominant ideology is to keep the ruled class in their subordinate uncritical positions. Thirdly, McRobbie suggests that it can be a meaningful activity in that it expresses many of the values of its readers who can extend the significance of the stories for their own purposes. Finally, popular culture can be interpreted as something that provides objective information, reflecting the lives of readers without any coercion, giving them what they want within well established patterns, the romance and fulfilment that makes no demands and delivers the required fantasies. At all times, readers have choices and social formation is not only reliant on popular media but emerges through education, family dynamics and the politics of the period.

Hall's discourses around women and marital relationships ostensibly offer the reader the acceptable beliefs of the dominant ideology – the sacredness of the marriage bond and the centrality of moral behaviour. On a superficial level, she preserved the status quo but she offers, often through her secondary characters, humourous and pertinent asides on social life, fashions and types that reflected her own experience, entertained her readers, and as has been demonstrated, also subverted in subtle ways this dominant ideology. As in McRobbie's criteria, Hall gave her readers what they wanted and they were empowered by stories that imitated aspects of their lives. Her affinity with the less lurid elements of Gothic fiction that added melodrama and excitement to her novels ensured a market until the rise of the sensation novels of the 1870s that eclipsed Hall's gentler insights into domestic life.

The question as to whom Hall herself thought she addressed can be approached via her introduction to The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1836):

> When first I planned this Volume, now some nine years since, I little thought of ever writing '*books for big people*'. And, believe me, that though I have derived some fame, - much more than I deserve, - from my acquaintance with Irish characters and

> 'Buccaneers,' yet I am never so truly happy as when writing for the amusement and improvement of little girls, ay, and little boys also, though, I confess, that I love girls a little, *leetle* bit the best of the two. Pray you, dear girls, love me in return; and you, young gentlemen, you will surely be too gallant not to love me also, for the sake of the love I bear your sisters.[96]

Writing for children for Hall was a lifetime commitment and a pleasure. She started off by writing with a juvenile audience in mind and her lifelong loyalty is evident from the bibliography. Hazel Morris mistakenly suggested that she only turned to children's books later in life: "By 1848 stories about Ireland were not so popular, and Anna Maria turned to writing stories for children"[97] However, from her earliest short stories for the annual market such as her own The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not from 1829-37 to her Chronicles of Cosy Nook in 1875, she never neglected her first audience. The difficulty arises when it comes to ascertaining the audience for publications not instantly recognisable as children's books. Clearly from the above quotation, she had a preference for writing for children, especially girls and the assumption from the above also was that she understood her Sketches and The Buccaneer to be for an adult audience. From the sheer length of her novels and the complex plots, one could surmise that all of her novels would have suited a reader at least from the late teenage years onwards. Hence it is surprising to see that Mary Braddon had read Hall's three-volume Marian when she was only seven.[98] Likewise the fact that Hall's Stories of the Irish Peasantry was included amongst prize books for school children seemed a less likely choice than the inclusion of more obvious children's books in her oeuvre. The Stories were less light-hearted than her earlier Sketches, with more of an emphasis on the flaws inherent in her characters. This overtly didactic aspect may have been a factor in the publisher's decision to market her work to the widest possible audience.

Jacqueline Rose has written about the notional reader in children's literature, saying that: "Often the addressees will be younger or idealised versions of themselves."[99] This is a concept that has considerable weight when considering Hall. The extent to which she reworked her own childhood

memories, experiencing therapeutic release in the process is worth pursuing. Her conviction that her childhood provided an excellent model for others to emulate can be traced in many of her stories. The family audience was an important market and Hall's ideal reader was most likely a young girl on the verge of womanhood. A keen desire to prepare the reader for future potential trials and pitfalls lay behind Hall's zeal to share her own experiences of this significant stage in a woman's life.

This final section comments on how Hall networked through her friendship and correspondence with well-known women writers of her era.[100]

Fig. 5.12 Letter from Hall to Sir James Tennent demonstrating her frequent practice of cross writing.[101]

In addition to assisting with Mary Braddon's journalistic apprenticeship in the St. James's Magazine, Hall was known as a kindly and helpful editor for other budding writers. On her seventeenth birthday in 1861, Isabella Fyvie Mayo (1843-1914) received an invitation to meet Hall with a view to possibly publishing some of her verse in the St. James's Magazine. To quote Isabella:

> it proved a memorable date... little could I dream it then, but on that birthday I was born into a friendship that never fainted or failed (though it was often tried).[102]

On Hall's advice, she gave up writing for three years and she was a regular confidante re literary matters over the coming years. Hall introduced her to many prospective employers and her "unfailing friend"[103] consoled Mayo when things did not always work out. Likewise in an encouraging letter to the novelist Anna Eliza Bray (1790-1883), Hall wrote:

> Dear Mrs Bray
> Your charming story only arrived on Saturday night – and deprived me of half a night's rest for I could not lay it down until I finished it – it is as vigourous [sic] as full of character – and of truth – as any thing you ever wrote – Mr Hall has now got hold of it. I could not however rest until I had congratulated you on giving us such a bright invigorating story – and as all dear friend you have ever written – enriched by such pure morality God bless you –
> I will write very soon and with much love in which my husband unites – believe me.[104]

Although it is not possible as yet to find out exactly what publication this referred to, it is known that in 1831, Bray travelled to London from Tavistock to seek a publisher for Mary Colling's poetry and while in London, she met the "literary socialite Mrs S. C. Hall."[105] Hall knew that Bray's husband, the Revd Edward Atkyns Bray was the vicar of Tavistock in Devon and approached Bray on behalf of Letitia Elizabeth Landon's younger brother Whittington (later vicar of Exeter) for a curacy. Hall, Whittington and Landon subscribed to Colling's book. Landon may have written the review of it for the Literary Gazette as she knew William Jerdan the editor and was a frequent reviewer. These interconnections served them all well and Hall was always generous in passing on any contacts. Another author, with Irish connections, Dinah Mulock Craik (1826-87) whose father was originally from Dublin counted Hall as one of her most significant contacts when she moved to London with her parents in 1839. She lived at Earls Court Terrace and regularly frequented the weekly soirées

held nearby at the Halls' house in Brompton. According to Sally Mitchell, Hall was the young writer's "literary angel," helping to get some of her work published in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal. Hall was "a regular contributor to the magazine and acted as Robert Chambers's London contact, identifying and sending to him the work of possible new talent."[106]

The following excerpt from a lengthy letter in 1842 by the American poetess, Lydia Sigourney (1791-1865) gives further insights into Hall's new library (Fig. 5.13) and working environment. Sigourney even offered to post a bust of herself that could be placed within the library to remind Hall of her good wishes.[107]

> Dear Mrs Hall
>
> Your last letter was so sweet, because it really seemed as if you loved me, and to borrow the quaint expression of a friend of mine, "I do, of all earthly things love, love."... I am so pleased at your description of your new Library, and so glad that you have got such a beautiful room. I shall often be there, in spirit, overlooking you and your husband, as you labour upon the graphic "Irish Sketches," or those elegant "Gems," the two first volumes of which, my little daughter has long used, for a daily text-book from which she recites to me, her sole teacher. Would that I could accept your invitation to catch with you the light 'through the stained window streaming.' I have sometimes imagined that I could write better, if my 'working –nook,' scarcely 13 feet by 10, were not in the immediate vicinity of the kitchen, so that my new-born verses, are of necessity, a little modified by culinary sounds.

Sigourney wrote of her high regard for Hall's mother Sarah, her intention to send her a volume of her poems, and also of her daughter's passion for collecting autographs. She asked Hall to send hers with an "engraved likeness" and if possible any of the following also: "Wordsworth, Southey and Mrs Southey, Joanna Baillie, Carlyle, Rogers, Mrs Opie, Mrs Hofland, Mrs Norton, Lady Blessington, Miss Mitford, L. E. L., Miss Barrett." Sigourney confirms that Hall was in regular contact with all of these eminent individuals.

Fig.5.13 "The Library" by F. W. Fairholt. Midsummer Eve (1848).

In addition to motivating and assisting new writers, Hall's friends showed their concern for her and her husband as in Ellen Wood's two letters quoted below, the first dated 5 Jan. 1880 and the second 5 June 1880.[108]

> My dear Mrs Hall,
>
> I cannot refrain from writing you a line to say how angry I felt on Saturday, on taking up the newspaper, at the shameful treatment Mr Hall has been subjected to by that man.[109] I do think such things ought not to be permitted. Pray give my kindest regards to Mr Hall and say how entirely I sympathise with him: but there is always this consolation – that Mr Hall is too well known, too highly esteemed and respected far and wide, for any such attempted proceeding to touch him, or to tell upon him ...
>
> Ellen Wood

And in June 5th 1880

> ... I went out twice last week for a short drive, and on the Saturday called on Miss Jewsbury and sat with her some little time. She is so cheerful, just as she used to be ... I hope to come to see you very soon, most likely next week. I am not afraid of coming to your house because I know that in it I shall not be exposed to cold rooms and draughty air ... It is a very good thing that Mr. Hall is giving up his work. Surely he has done enough! He must now only work for just amusement – as I do.
>
> Ellen Wood.

These few examples give an idea of the range of Hall's interests and how professional and personal issues were commingled. Contemporaries frequently alluded to Hall's warmth and generosity and the letters confirm this willingness always to empathise and encourage.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore how Hall negotiated her position in society as a wife, author, editor and colleague. She led a busy, productive and sociable life that held many demands and challenges for a woman in the public eye. Whilst her married life seemed compatible and fulfilling, there were also difficult times. S. C. Hall was a talented and successful editor and he provided many important opportunities for his wife, encouraging her initial efforts, publicising them widely and extending the outlets for their dissemination through his many contacts in the publishing world. However, he had a fair share of disappointments professionally. Such incidents as his unfortunate connection with the publishers Westley and Davis who went bankrupt in 1837, his over-ambitious engraving projects such as that of the Queen's pictures in 1854 or the libel actions against him, all contributed towards a degree of insecurity in their lives. S. C. Hall made enemies easily and lacked his wife's relaxed and easy-going manner. While Hall's articles appeared in many of her husband's periodicals, and he publicly acknowledged his gratitude, he also subtly ignored her contributions to other works, absorbing most of the credit for what should have been recorded as joint

publications. Through his appraisal of her work in his Retrospect, he gave an impression to posterity that hyper-inflated his own role in her career. Though in earlier chapters it was shown that Hall's contemporaries were not fooled by S. C. Hall's assertions, it has not assisted her reputation in subsequent years, especially if critics rely chiefly on his version of events.

S. C. Hall was instrumental in getting his wife her first major editorial job with The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not and it was an experience that stood to her later when she took on Sharp's London Magazine and St. James's Magazine. Through the examples of her story "The Curse of Property" and her novel A Woman's Story, where the lives of literary women are highlighted, a picture of Hall's ekphrastic manoeuvrings emerges. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, I equate them with her construction of a nineteenth-century form of *écriture feminine*. Using Cixous's terminology, this chapter has provided strong evidence of numerous instances in which Hall "wrote" her "woman's story," and encouraged "women to writing." Hall's increasing confidence in openly expressing her views in A Woman's Story reflected the frustration she endured with publishers, economic restraints, a crowded market and a fickle public. Many of her characters mimic gendered stereotypes such as the devoted wife, the overbearing wife, the strong-minded "Blue" and the ineffectual male. Their actions and reactions provide a foil that subverts the dominant ideology yet at the same time, unthreateningly entertain the reader. In a similar way she had exaggerated Irish peasant stereotypes – the lazy male, the idealised woman and the gifted beggar/storyteller. These stereotypes facilitated Hall's negotiation of a space within which she could experiment with and develop her own views more creatively without fear of admonishment. Her core determination was to prove publicly that, in the words of Alice Lee, that despite the fact that she was an author she had not ceased to be a woman. Ironically, by adhering to her overruling sense of propriety, her heroines rarely forge a truly independent pathway as Hall herself remained too limited by the social structures of her time.

The next chapter provides a case study of Hall's output for one major publisher, the Chambers firm in Edinburgh. It examines works that accentuate her continued preoccupation with nationality, gender and childhood.

Notes

[1] Hélène Cixous, New French Feminisms, eds., Elaine Marks and Isabelle Courtrivon (Brighton: Harvester, 1975) 245.

[2] Rev. of Tales of Woman's Trials, by Mrs S. C. Hall, Dublin University Magazine Feb. (1836): 205.

[3] Sha 2.

[4] "Mrs S. C. Hall (Anna Maria fielding)," The Dublin University Magazine, Jan. (1840). Web. 4 Apr. 2008.

[5] Rohan Maitzen, "This Feminine Preserve: Historical Biographies by Victorian Women," Victorian Studies 38:3 (1995): 374.

[6] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 467-468. This was an extract from a poem addressed to his wife on the occasion of their fiftieth wedding anniversary in 1874.

[7] Rudolph Ackermann (1764-1834) had settled in England in 1795 where he had a print-shop and drawing school in London. He was one of the first to use lithography commercially in his monthly journal Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics (1809-28)

[8] Renier 5.

[9] Kathryn Ledbetter, "White Vellum and gilt Edges: Imaging the Keepsake," Studies in the Literary Imagination 30:1 (1997): 35.

[10] Renier 7.

[11] "The Annuals of Former Days," The Bookseller 29 Nov. 1858: 496.

[12] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 425. Keane (19-20) pointed out that "Master Ben" was published in The Spirit and Manners of the Age in 1829, several years after some of the stories that appeared in The Amulet. However, there may have been a delay before Master Ben was published after she first wrote it. Both publications were published by Westley and Davis. Hall, in the fifth edition of Sketches of Irish Character referred to the day she wrote her first story, recalling how "my voice trembled, when, little more than a bride, I ventured to read to my husband the sketch of 'Master Ben'."

[13] Loeber, Guide 538.

[14] Anthony Trollope, An Autobiography (London: Oxford University Press, 1953) 175.

[15] "The Annuals (An Interview between the Editor and his Friends.) The Rev. Dr. B ---. Mrs O ---. And Miss L ---" The Spirit and Manners of the Age Nov. (1829): 801-823. Mrs O may have referred to Amelia Opie (1769-1853) who contributed to many periodicals at this time and Miss L to Letitia Elizabeth Landon or L. E. L. who was at her peak during the late 1820s and early 1830s. The Halls were good friends with both women. Hall's "Memory of Amelia Opie" appeared in The Art Journal after Opie's death Jan. (1854) and they both featured in S. C. Hall's A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age.

[16] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 306.

[17] Alaric Watts had attempted to publish an art annual, The Cabinet of Modern Art, and Literary Souvenir in 1835 with the aim of raising the profile of British art with articles solely about art. However, there was not yet a sufficient audience to make this a success. It was not until S. C. Hall's The Art-Union made its debut in 1839, that there was indeed a receptive public for such a specialist publication.

[18] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 340.

[19] The Art-Union Aug. (1844): 272.

[20] This could have been S. C. Hall, the editor, as it has the tone of an editorial piece, written by someone involved with The Art-Union since its inception.

[21] Rev. of Tales of Woman's Trials, by Mrs S. C. Hall, The Art-Union Nov. (1846): 302.

[22] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 453.

[23] The Art-Union Feb. (1847): 72. It referred specifically to Maclise's illustration of the ballad "Leonora" by Gottfried Bürger (1747-94).

[24] "Thoughts on Juvenile Illustrated Literature," The Art-Union Apr. (1846):111.

[25] The Art-Union Apr. (1846): 111.

[26] Riana O'Dwyer, "Women's Narratives 1800-40," The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Vol. 5: Irish Women's Writing and Traditions, (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002) 836. O'Dwyer refers to the fact that Hall, like Lady Morgan "became virtually full-time professional writers, supplementing 'literary' products such as novels with travel books, essays and other work which would now be classified as journalism."

[27] Vizetelly, vol. 1 305.

[28] Keane 21.

[29] Buchanan-Brown, Early Victorian Illustrated Books 119. It had been published in parts from 1842-44 and was instrumental in introducing German styles to British books. Inspired by the Nibelungenlied, the German influence could be seen in the page layouts, "stick" borders, decoration in the fore-margin and the overall design of the textual and illustrative elements.

[30] Samuel Carter Hall, "The Mother Tried," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not" (1837): 240. It was also the only poem by him included in the anthology arranged by Joseph Payne, Select Poetry for Children (London: Relfe and Fletcher, 1839) 152. Hall had a number of miscarriages and only one child survived for a few days.

[31] Chronicles of a Schoolroom 114.

[32] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 430.

[33] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 453-54. He listed the novels as The Buccaneer, The Outlaw, Uncle Horace, Marian, Lights and Shadows of Irish Life, The Whiteboy, A Woman's Story, Can Wrong Be Right? and The Fight of Faith. Lights and Shadows of Irish Life (1838) was akin to her earlier collections of sketches apart from the first of the three volumes which consisted entirely of "The Groves of Blarney"

[34] S. C. Hall, A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age from Personal Acquaintance, 3rd ed. (London: J. S. Virtue, nd) ix. The morality of keeping, destroying or publicising personal letters was a question upon which authors often expressed strong views. In Hall's article on Edgeworthstown, she recalled that Maria Edgeworth was very particular about not wanting her many

letters made public as they were private to her and she was loyal to the personal nature of many of them. She left a letter after her death which requested that "no life might be written of her, and that none of her letters might be printed." Quoted in Mrs S. C. Hall, Pilgrimages to English Shrines (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1854) [383].

[35] Mrs S. C. Hall "Edgeworthstown: Memories of Maria Edgeworth" The Art Journal July (1849) 225.

[36] Bates 370. The text was by William Maginn who was not well disposed to S. C. Hall.

[37] Mayo, "Two Old Friends" 304.

[38] Letters from S. C. Hall to John Windele. Windele Collection, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. 4B1/11, 19, 28, 34, 41, 75, 79, 97, 102, 105; 4B2/4, 28, 35, 60, 73, 155; 4B5/13; 4B9/70; 4B12/138; 4B13/9; 12L5/118, 130; 12L7/61; 12L8/56; 12L10/50.

[39] Peter Finlay, "The Irish as "Other": Representations of Urban and Rural Poverty in Early Victorian Travel Writing on Ireland," Diss. Queen's University of Belfast, 2005.

[40] Mrs S. C. Hall, Nelly Nowlan (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1865) 100.

[41] Pilgrimages (1854) 55.

[42] Mrs S. C. Hall, "A Visit to the Female School of Design," The Art-Union July (1845): 231.

[43] Carpenter 26. The entry for "Annual" quotes Crofton Croker who claimed that The Christmas Box published in 1828 was the first annual for children, followed by Hall's Juvenile Forget-Me-Not.

[44] Isabella Fyvie Mayo, Recollections (1910; N. p.: Dodo Press, 2009) 81. Mayo referred to the "miracle" that happened in 1867 when she was asked to write a serial for an important magazine (unstated) and was offered £300 for it. She compared this to her annual earnings in the previous two years averaging £80-£100 per year. Although a later period than Hall's time at Chambers, comparisons may be drawn between the amounts earned for a weekly magazine compared to the more prestigious monthlies.

[45] The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not edited by Hall came out at the end of 1828 (for 1829) produced by Westley & Davies. Most annuals appeared for the Christmas and New Year market so could have the imprint for the actual year of publication or the intended year. This was soon followed by The Juvenile Keepsake for 1829 edited by Thomas Roscoe and published by Hurst, Chance. Mrs. Alaric Watts edited The New Year's Gift and Juvenile Souvenir for Longman, Rees &c. and it too came out in 1829, proving so popular that a second edition was required within four weeks of publication.

[46] The dog in the dedication portrait may have been one of the many that Hall owned. It is very similar to the one in the portrait of Hall by Daniel Maclise included in The Maclise Portrait Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters. Bates (1898). The title page shows two children reaching for forget-me-nots at a pool surrounded by a wreath of such flowers.

[47] Whalley and Chester 52-58.

[48] Sullivan, British Literary Magazines vol. 3 394.

[49] Preface, Sharpe's London Journal June (1852)

[50] Barbara Onslow, Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain, (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000) 119.

[51] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 430.

[52] "Helen Lyndsey"remained unfinished following her abrupt departure in December 1852 but was published as A Woman's Story by Hurst and Blackett in 1857.

[53] Hughes and Lund claimed that even in the last third of the century, readers did not expect to complete their favourite novels in less than the " year and a half of Trollope's Phineas Finn (October 1867-May 1869 in St. Paul's Magazine), the year of Hardy's The Woodlanders (Macmillan's Magazine, May 1886-April 1887), the eleven months of Kiplings' Kim (McClure's Magazine, December 1900-October 1901)..."

[54] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol 1 334.

[55] According to www.victorianweb.org the King of Sensation writing was Wilkie Collins who inaugurated the genre with The Woman in White in 1860.

Mary Braddon was considered the Queen of Sensation with more than eighty novels attributed, some under a variety of pseudonyms. Sensation writing anticipated detective fiction of today with dramatic events dealing with murder, bigamy, secrets, madness and startling revelations.

[56] Shattock 56-57, http://www.sensationpress.com/aboutmaryelizabethbraddon.htm

[57] Onslow 152.

[58] Altick 359.

[59] Onslow 136.

[60] Annuals catered for children and the Sunday School movement had a selection of magazine titles with a strong religious bias. However, momentum was gathering from the mid-1850s onwards for magazines aimed exclusively at children. Such early titles included Charlotte Yonge's The Monthly Packet (founded 1851), Samuel O. Beeton's Boy's Own Magazine (founded 1855) and Margaret Gatty's Aunt Judy's Magazine (founded 1866).

[61] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Curse of Property: The Trials of Alice Lee" Tales of Woman's Trials (New York: Wallis & Newell, 1835) 131.

[62] "Curse of Property" 131.

[63] "Curse of Property" 132.

[64] "Curse of Property" 132.

[65] Mrs S. C. Hall, A Woman's Story vol. 1 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857) 308.

[66] Anne Manning, letter to Mrs Samuel Carter Hall, 22 Mar. 1858. Letter for sale in David J. Holmes Autographs, web 5 Oct. 2009. Anne Manning was known for her historical novels, her most famous being The Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell (1849). Her novels, including the latter, first appeared in Sharpe's London Magazine.

[67] Morris 87. Both Halls missed Sarah Fielding who had lived with them for thirty years and was much loved by their wider circle of friends who often asked for her in their letters.

[68] Mayo, "Two Old Friends" 307.

[69] A Woman's Story vol. 3 9.

[70] There is no evidence to suggest that Hall personally met Scott but Maria Edgeworth certainly knew him and had visited him in Scotland and he had travelled to meet her in Ireland also. Hall certainly admired Scott and he is referred to in many stories and articles such as "The Two Pictures" and A Woman's Story.

[71] Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was founded in April 1817 by William Blackwood and was noted for its satire, reviews and writers such as John Wilson, Margaret Oliphant and William Maginn. Like The Quarterly Review which was founded in 1809 by John Murray's publishing house, it was a Tory magazine and authors were anxious to be reviewed in either publication due to their robust circulation figures and uncompromising and often controversial reviews. Both magazines averaged 8,000-10,000 in the 1830s. Altick, 392-393; Mrs Oliphant, William Blackwood and His Sons: Their Magazine and Friends (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897) 93-129.

[72] A Woman's Story vol. 2 207.

[73] Keane 11-13; James H. Murphy, "Canonicity: The Literature of Nineteenth-Century Ireland," New Hibernia Review 7:2 (2003) 51. Irish stories were less popular in mid-century in England than in the late 1820s and 1830s. By the end of the 1840s a number of factors such as the famine of 1845-49 and the rise in popularity of a new generation of English authors such as Dickens, Eliot, Thackeray, Trollope and the Brontës saw a change in taste. Anthony Trollope (1812-82) was told that the English market for Irish fiction had dried up after the failure of his novel The Kellys and the O'Kellys (1848).

[74] A Woman's Story vol. 1 307.

[75] A Woman's Story vol. 1 279.

[76] A Woman's Story vol. 1 252.

[77] A Woman's Story vol. 1 233.

[78] A Woman's Story vol. 1 233.

[79] Keane 110. As the Halls were on good terms with Lady Morgan, this may not have been entirely true. S. C. Hall's account of Lady Morgan in his

Retrospect was affectionate (vol. 2 70-74). She had helped his early career in 1822 with a letter to the publisher Colburn and they both attended many of her evenings in Kildare Street and at her house in William Street, Knightsbridge.

[80] A Woman's Story vol. 2 241.

[81] A Woman's Story vol. 1 309.

[82] Helen the heroine recognised the importance of living the "truth" and the value of "sanctifying" rather than "wasting" her life in the pursuit of fleeting fame.

[83] Carol A. Bock, "Authorship, The Brontës, and Fraser's Magazine: 'Coming Forward' as an author in early Victorian England," Victorian Literature and Culture Vol. 29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 241.

[84] David Higgins, "Isn't she painted Con Amore? Fraser's Magazine and the Spectacle of Female Genius," Romanticism on the Net 46 (2007). David Higgins described how "the 'Gallery's' mixed rhetoric of chivalry and prurience operates both to restrict and expose its female subjects, but also Maginn's intense self-consciousness about this process. Throughout, he conflates references to his subjects' *works* with descriptions of their *looks*..."

[85] Sketches (1844) 280.

[86] Uncle Horace (1838) vol. 1 74.

[87] Not all critics were equally convinced. William Maginn was the likely reviewer (suggested also by the Wellesley Index) of the review of her second series of sketches and he is alert to her frankly-stated views on men. Rev. of Sketches of Irish Character. (1831) by Mrs S. C. Hall. Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country Aug. (1831): 110-12.

[88] Marian 74.

[89] A Woman's Story vol. 1 9-11.

[90] A Woman's Story vol. 1 20-23.

[91] Archdeacon Hare, Guesses at Truth (1827), qtd by S. G. G., "The Best Hundred Books," Leisure Hour, 35 (1886) 268, Kate Flint, The Woman Reader 1837-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) [47].

[92] Nancy Baym, "Novels, Readers, and Reviewers," The Novel: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory 1900-2000 ed. Dorothy J. Hale (London: Blackwell, 2006) 788.

[93] Baym 791.

[94] Janice Radway, Reading the Romance (London: Verso, 1984) 208-12.

[95] Angela McRobbie, Feminism and Youth Culture from Jackie to Just Seventeen (London: MacMillan, 1991) xiii.

[96] Mrs S. C. Hall "A Scene, by way of Introduction to the Ninth Volume of The Illustrated Juvenile Forget-Me-Not," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (London: Ackermann & Co., 1836) 12-13.

[97] Morris 137.

[98] Robert Lee Wolff, Sensational Victorian: the Life and Fiction of Mary Elizabeth Braddon (New York: Garland, 1979) 36.

[99] Jacqueline Rose, The Case of Peter Pan: Or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction (London: Macmillan, 1984) 12.

[100] While the focus of this section is on her female friends, it must also be acknowledged that she did assist and encourage many male writers from a wide range of social backgrounds such as the Irish poet and shoemaker John O'Neill (Morris 126-27) and Sir James Emerson Tennant. In a letter to the latter she praised his work:

> Your book deserves to go into twenty-forty editions! It combines all the beauty of seeming fiction with the power and dignity of truth [her emphasis]. I read it twice over, before I could return it to Westerton's – and besides I could not help reading my particular pet descriptions over again and again to Mr Hall and Fanny though they have read them before.

Anna Maria Hall, letter to Sir James Emerson Tennant, [1860s] 15A/7 Public Record Office, Belfast. (Westerton's English and Foreign Library was located at Hyde Park Corner. According to an advertisement in The Athenaeum in 1854, a single subscription cost one guinea per annum.)

[101] The letter refers to moving house to The Boltons, West Brompton and is a typical example of the practice of cross writing, frequently practised by Hall in her longer letters, possibly to save paper or in this case due to the fact that they were in the throes of house moving from 27 Ashley Place.

[102] http://gerald-massey.org.uk/fyvie-mayo/index.htm; Mayo, Recollections 47-82

[103] Mayo, Recollections 74.

[104] Anna Maria Hall, letter to Anna Eliza Bray, 26 Nov. [1831?] MsL H174br, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

[105] Dennis Low, The Literary Protegées of the Lake Poets (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 21. Mary Colling was a maid servant from Devonshire.

[106] Sally Mitchell, "A Woman's Image: The Writer and her Public," Dinah Mulock Craik: A Victorian Web Book, 7 Apr. 2010 <www.victorianweb.org>

[107] Lydia Huntley Sigourney, letter to Mrs Hall, 24 Sept. 1842, Carter Hall Papers Box 1/43, Princeton University Library.

[108] Ellen Wood, letters to Mrs Hall, 5 Jan.1880, 5 June 1880, Carter Hall Papers Box 1/44, Princeton University Library. Ellen Wood, more commonly known as Mrs Henry Wood (1814-87) was the noted sensation author of East Lynne (1861).

[109] This referred to a libel suit brought about by Pepperell, S. C. Hall's manager/sub-editor in the weekly publication Social Notes. Pepperell, who proved to have a drink problem, was dismissed and a court case ensued. S. C. Hall foolishly wrote about the matter in the magazine and Pepperell promptly sued him for libel but accepted £200 from S. C. Hall in an out of court settlement. S. C. Hall resigned as editor, embittered with the injustice of two civil actions. Morris 156-160.

Chapter 6

Case Study: Nationality, Gender and Childhood in Hall's Writings for the Firm of W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh

Introduction

This chapter completes the dissertation with a case study of the publications written by Hall for the Chambers firm of publishers in Edinburgh. It is concerned chiefly with the period extending from her earliest publication for them in 1832 to her final submission in 1859, with some discussion of new editions published by them at the turn of the century. Hall worked with many different publishers during a long, prolific career but there are several reasons why Chambers is a suitable choice for this case study.[1] Hall's output for Chambers was more prodigious than for any other publisher and showed a range of formats and subject matter over an extended period of time. She was active with Chambers during the most productive years of her professional career and she became a close friend of William Chambers (1800-83) and his family. The letters, ledgers and catalogues in the Chambers archive in the National Library of Scotland contribute further to our knowledge of her literary output, her financial anxieties and priorities, and they have not been referenced by other commentators on Hall to date. Most importantly, her correspondence provides us with a direct link to her many views about her work and its value. During a time when publishers often went bankrupt without much warning, as was the case with Westley and Davis[2] or when irreconcilable differences came between author and publisher,[3] Hall's relationship with Chambers was sustained, productive and mutually beneficial. Through a case study of one successful firm and one popular author, it is possible to gain an understanding of aspects of the publishing industry during the early Victorian period. Various questions such as how Hall's publications matched the firm's ethos, how her work was marketed, her readership profile, her print runs and her earnings are all explored. Her correspondence provides further proof of her husband's role in her business transactions and the ledgers prove that she was a profitable and bankable author for Chambers.

Within the parameters of my overall thesis question, the key areas of

nationality, gender and childhood[4] are addressed through an examination of Hall's role as a writer of children's and adults' books, as a breadwinner equal in earning power to her husband, and the strains implicit in this; and secondly through examining the colonial tensions apparent in her Stories of the Irish Peasantry; her titles for Chambers's Miniature Library of Fiction; and finally her four books for Chambers's Library for Young People. Whilst providing the framework for the chapter and an opportunity to bring these three areas literally together, the focus is less on the theoretical aspects, which have already been explored in the individual chapters but more on the practical and economic concerns that featured so dramatically in Hall's letters. It draws on information from Chambers' archive that has not been considered in relation to Hall.

The chapter begins with an account of the ethos and ideology behind Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, its intended readership, and the extent to which Hall suited their requirements by providing entertaining, yet suitably moralistic stories. Following this, the three distinct areas of her work for Chambers are explored: firstly her Stories of the Irish Peasantry, serialised in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal from 1839-40 and published as a collection in 1840; secondly the stories that were ultimately collected in the Miniature Library of Fiction in 1858 (serialised in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal between 1841-45 and originally referred to by Hall as her "Stories for English Homes"); and thirdly, four juvenile titles included in Chambers's Library for Young People published between 1848-51. The latter section differs from the other two in that the children's books were illustrated and a distinctive house style was created for the series with identifiable bindings. These visual elements will be assessed in the light of rapidly evolving book design in affordable children's publications at mid-century. The conclusion will summarise the factors that made Chambers such an important publisher for Hall and a suitable case study with which to highlight the range of her didactic works.

Chambers's Edinburgh Journal: Ethos and Hall's Role in Fulfilling It

Hall's stories were consistently in demand for Chambers's Edinburgh Journal with contributions appearing in forty-four separate numbers over a twenty-two

year span. Her first story was published in July 1832 entitled "The Crooked Stick" a few months after the journal was established. Her final offering, "The Drunkard's Bible," appeared in June 1854. These stories were the right kind of fiction for readers of Chambers's Edinburgh Journal. In the first issue dated 4 February 1832, William Chambers, the chief editor and publisher, announced that there would be a weekly short story:

> ... a nice amusing tale, either original, or selected from the best modern authors – no ordinary trash about Italian castles, and daggers, and ghosts in the blue chamber, and similar nonsense, but something really good.[5]

Within the eight-page weekly, the fictional short story was of great importance to boost sales and consequently occupied up to a third of the journal. The remaining journal consisted of articles on natural history, biographical sketches and numerous miscellaneous writings. In the issue dated 31 January 1835, a resumé is given of the previous year's contents on the front page:

> 51 familiar sketches and moral essays, 200 miscellaneous articles of story instruction and entertainment, 36 stories, 26 biographies of eminent individuals, 41 items of poetry, 354 articles, 216 of which are original, remainder either selected/partially rewritten and 200 anecdotes and paragraphs.

Many of the general articles and reviews were anonymous and this was not unusual during this period as has already been discussed in other contexts. Serialised fiction in other contemporary periodicals such as Blackwood's Magazine and Cornhill, rarely credited authorship. As Laurel Brake has suggested, anonymity gave flexibility to the editors. If a story proved unpopular, it could be withdrawn, postponed or adjusted by the editor.[6] The ethos of a periodical and an idea of the intended readership could dictate the pool of commissioned authors. Hall enjoyed a privileged position as a sought-after author for a wide range of annuals and periodicals so anonymity was not called for in her case. Instead her stories were heralded on the front page of almost every issue in which she was published. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal was not illustrated in the early years and was sold at the competitive price of three-

halfpence – a key factor in its success. William Chambers in his biography, Story of a Long and Busy Life, credited the success of Chambers's Edinburgh Journal to its competitive price. The cost of newspapers was usually sevenpence, due to the heavy stamp and advertisement duties:

> Chambers's Journal being free from these exactions, and being a sheet at the price of three-halfpence, while in point of size it was nearly as large as a newspaper, was accepted as a great bargain in reading.[7]

Chambers's Edinburgh Journal was aimed therefore at the lower end of the market bringing it within reach of the poorer classes. In his Marxist analysis, Michael Feldberg described Knight's Penny Magazine[8] and Chambers's Edinburgh Journal as workingmen's journals which "endlessly canted the values which the middle classes prescribed for those below them" and the tone throughout was more like "a conversation between two well-meaning bourgeois about the lower orders."[9] This ideology, according to Feldberg, promoted an acceptance of poverty and appealed to the lower orders to avoid alcohol, improve themselves by attending lectures and reading rooms, save assiduously and to be content despite their many difficulties. However, William Chambers described how he received letters of gratitude from those who remembered the "vast pleasure with which as boys they hailed the weekly appearance of the Journal."[10] He described a headmaster of an important London school who, as a young boy, used to share his journal with four other boys, three of them contributing a halfpenny each and the other two who could not give financially, would walk the seven miles to fetch it. They remained friends for ten years and with all they gleaned from Chambers's Edinburgh Journal by way of self-education, two became headmasters, one a clergyman, another a builder and another a successful sheep-farmer in New Zealand.[11] Chambers was proving the power of his weekly journal, the lengths that poor young boys would go to ensure they did not miss out on its valuable contents. Through their stories he demonstrated the role his publication played in their ability to rise above their situation and class to become whatever they wanted to be.

Richard Altick noted that William and Robert Chambers's views were informed by the legacy of John Wesley who pioneered cheap, abridged literature for inexperienced readers. Chambers's underlying aim was always to provide wholesome literature to the multitudes, providing a balance of entertaining and informative works.[12] The high circulation figures with weekly sales of 50,000 in 1832 rising to close to 70,000 in 1849[13] confirm that it was a popular publication:

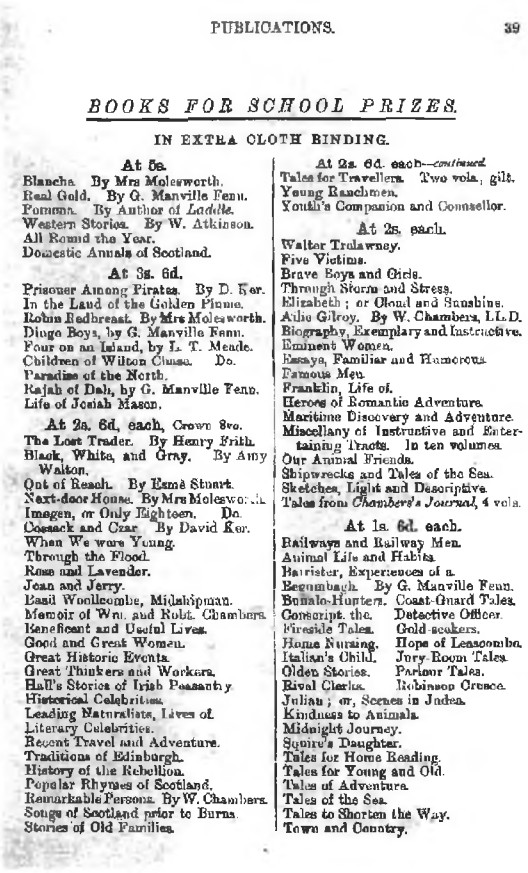
> It found its way to nooks and corners of the country to which no such papers had ever penetrated, the instructive and entertaining nature of the articles making it a special favourite with young people.[14]

To put the above figures into context, Altick quoted other weeklies of the period including the Penny Magazine which although it started off in 1832 with a circulation of 100,000, its sales averaged 40,000 in the lead up to its cessation in 1845. Dickens's Household Words likewise started off at 100,000 in 1850 but averaged 40,000 during its best years. Of the leading weekly newspapers, The Illustrated London News founded in 1842 had an average circulation of 67,000 in 1850.

Hall was in demand with Chambers for two main reasons. Her work was suitable for a family audience and her writings conveniently matched their ideology. Whether or not Hall initially wrote her stories for Chambers with a juvenile audience in mind is debatable. The titles for Chambers's Library for Young People were unambiguously so but the publishers targeted her stories written for Chambers's Edinburgh Journal at the family market and hence they were read widely by young people. Likewise, her Stories of the Irish Peasantry featured regularly in their trade catalogues listed under "Books for School Prizes" (Fig. 6.1), listed at 2s.6d. In the 1858 trade catalogue, Hall's Irish Stories was listed in Box 4 of Chambers's Portable Libraries (Fig. 6.2). Books in this category comprised "a selection of amusing and instructive reading, well adapted for Private Families, Emigrants, Ships' Libraries, &c."[15] The Miniature Library was always listed in the Chambers's ledgers in the Juvenile section,

indexed under Juvenile Works so was obviously perceived by them as suitable for a younger audience.

As publishers, their success depended on the utilisation of their best stories in the most varied and creative ways and Hall's output lent itself to such flexibility. The family audience was a convenient catch-all that included a young adult female audience, a readership → that Hall was always particularly keen to address. The ideology of Chambers's Edinburgh Journal was reinforced by Hall's extensive writings for them. Self-improvement through hard work, virtue, and a thirst for knowledge were her underlying themes. So, rather than quietly accepting one's low status in life as in Feldberg's Marxist interpretation, Hall's didactic writings give practical advice, which, if followed, would point the way to a better life.



PUBLICATIONS. 39

BOOKS FOR SCHOOL PRIZES.

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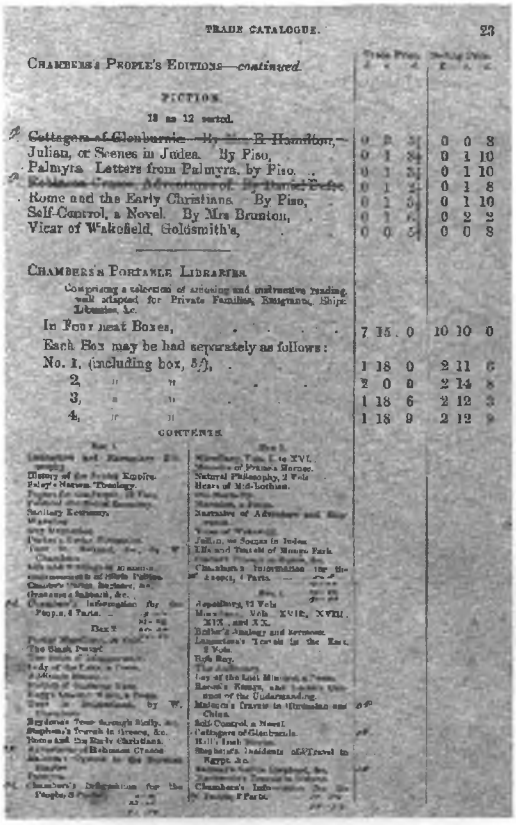
Fireside Tales. Gold-seekers.
Home Nursing. Hope of Leasoombe.
Italian's Child. Jury-Room Tales.
Olden Stories. Parlour Tales.
Rival Clerks. Robinson Crusoe.
Julian; *or*, Scenes in Judea.
Kindness to Animals.
Midnight Journey.
Squire's Daughter.
Tales for Home Reading.
Tales for Young and Old.
Tales of Adventure.
Tales of the Sea.
Tales to Shorten the Way.
Town and Country.

Fig. 6.1 Above. "Books for School Prizes." Chambers' Trade Catalogue [1850s].



TRADE CATALOGUE. 23

CHAMBERS'S PEOPLE'S EDITIONS—*continued.*

FICTION.

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Palmyra. Letters from Palmyra, by Piso.
~~Robinson Crusoe. Adventures of, by Daniel Defoe~~
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Fig. 6.2 Left. Chambers's Portable Libraries. Chambers' Trade Catalogue (1858).

Whether she addressed the social and moral improvement of the Irish lower classes as in Stories of the Irish Peasantry, the flawed characters that precipitated domestic disasters in her Miniature Library series, or the temptations and frustrations of her juvenile audience, her approach was ← benevolently maternalistic.

At the end of The Whisperer, she included a L'Envoy which demonstrates this overtly didactic approach:

My Dear Young Friends

> I hope this little volume will find its way into many a cheerful nursery and more thoughtful study, and be so fortunate as to awaken those who have hitherto neglected the Whisperer, to hear the 'Still small voice,' which is at once the voice of a reproving and a protecting angel. Many of you rush into mischief without the least intention of harming any one or anything, and your young lives pass in various troubles, which but anticipate the tempests of after years.[16]

Advice manuals and instructional articles proliferated from the 1830s onwards as part of what Kate Flint described as an emerging "cult of domesticity."[17] Women authors championed the vital role they played as wives and mothers, contributing to the stability and success of family life. Their target audience appeared to be largely middle-class girls in their mid to late teens.[18] Hall's maternal voice constantly sought to transmit values and duties that made for a happy home life. Such was the extent of her concern that she tackled a most ambitious project, offering advice not only to individuals, young women and families but to an entire nation by publishing:

> A series of stories, addressed more especially to the humbler classes; designed to correct certain faults in the Irish character, which because of their universality, may be almost termed "National"; and that my object would be essentially advanced by adopting some channel of communication with them to which they might have easy access.[19]

In these stories, the voice of the imperial writer was undeniable as will be explored in the next section.

Stories of the Irish Peasantry

The following quotation from a letter written by Hall, providing background to her Stories of the Irish Peasantry, (reproduced in full in Appendix G), neatly summarised the colonial tensions inherent in her work:

> It may not, however, be assumed that my Stories will be exclusively calculated for the Irish peasant; my aim will be to render them interesting to a higher Grade of Society; and at the same time to create a more intimate and more kindly acquaintance between the people of Ireland and that of England and Scotland.

She fervently desired to help the Irish peasant, who was evidently of a lower "Grade of Society" and wanted to promote greater understanding between the two countries. However, her sense of the peasant as being a race apart was evident. The extent to which she adopted the viewpoint of "civilising coloniser among primitive yet lovable natives" [20] is accentuated as is her position as an Anglo-Irish woman, both central concerns raised in Chapter 3. Stories [21] appeared in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal from 1839-40, between numbers 372-435 and there is a note in issue number 435 concluding the series.[22] On average the stories appeared fortnightly with few exceptions and were two-three pages long, that is 4,000-6,000 words each. They were featured in most cases on the front page of the journal and all but a few commenced with the quotation from St. Paul which read "Mind not high things: But condescend to men of low estate." This quotation also appeared on the title page of the published volume and was of central significance to the collection as a whole (Fig. 6.3). Hall's friend Isabella Fyvie Mayo acknowledged Hall's sympathetic recognition of the virtues of lowly folk:

> ...whenever Mrs Hall spoke of her own work with any pride or satisfaction, it was always in connection with some instance of its acceptableness among such people.[23]

S. C. Hall however described how his wife's writings of the humbler class gave them "dire offence" and when their Irish cook gave notice that she was leaving and when pressed for a reason she said "Arrah, ma'am, lave me alone! Ye know ye're going to put me into a book!"[24]

By 1839, Hall was an experienced hand at writing Irish tales. Her two series of Sketches had established her reputation and a year earlier in 1838 her three-volume Lights and Shadows of Irish Life was published. By the time she

wrote her Stories therefore it was probably not as challenging a task as her English tales a few years later.[25] Driven by the zeal of the period, she fervently hoped that her contributions to Chambers's Edinburgh Journal could help to correct the faults of the Irish peasantry:

> I humbly but earnestly hope I may succeed in my desire, first to interest and next to benefit my fellow countrymen and countrywomen. I shall, indeed heartily rejoice if I am permitted to contribute even a little to their social and moral improvement.[26]

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

CONDUCTED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS, EDITORS OF "CHAMBERS'S INFORMATION FOR THE PEOPLE," "CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE," &c.

NUMBER 390. SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1839. PRICE THREE HALFPENCE.

STORIES OF THE IRISH PEASANTRY.

BY MRS S. C. HALL.

"IT'S ONLY THE BIT AND THE SUP."

Fig. 6.3 Detail from Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,[27] Saturday 20 July 1839.

Hall wanted to help combat the widespread, extreme poverty and some of her writings later in the decade show her sense of despair when confronted with the reality of the Famine.[28] Her desire to work with the Irish gentry in order to ensure that her stories would be disseminated widely in Ireland provides the context for her letter to Chambers, addressed subsequently to the landlords of Ireland. It is an important letter outlining the gestation of her project and her deeply felt conviction that the faults in the Irish character would benefit greatly from correction. A portion of the letter is reproduced in the published volume of the stories, addressed "To the landlords and tenants of Ireland", signed Anna Maria Hall and dated 20 May 1840 from The Rosery, Old Brompton.

In her chapter on the Stories subtitled "Correcting the 'evil habits of poor Pat,'" Keane discusses the nineteenth-century vogue for instructing the humbler classes. Apart from religious tracts, many manuals of domestic hygiene and economy were published, often in fictional form such as The Cottagers of

Glenburnie (1808) by Elizabeth Hamilton or Reverend William Hickey's Irish Cottagers (1830) written under the pseudonym 'Martin Doyle' . Reverend Hickey was a personal friend of Hall's from Wexford. The underlying ethos in such works was that without intervention from the higher social classes, poor people could not improve their lot.[29] The Cottagers of Glenburnie was a particularly influential title and it was also included in Box 4 of Chambers's Portable Library alongside Hall's Stories of the Irish Peasantry (Fig. 6.2). As outlined in Chapter 3, Elizabeth Hamilton's book described how the lives of Scottish peasants were transformed by a lively middle-class woman who came to live amongst them demonstrating the advantages of hard work and good housekeeping.

There are many similarities with Hall's Sketches and her Stories. Her earliest Sketches celebrated difference, opened a window on a way of life to those who had not been to Ireland but the reader is still aware, despite the levity and the humour, that the Irish are held back by their failings: laziness and procrastination ("Independence"); violence ("Black Dennis"); and drunkenness and irresponsibility ("The Bannow Postman"). The Loebers specify however that Hall was clear that her early Irish Sketches were:

> ... mainly of peasants who were descended from 'Anglo-Norman settlers' who retained much of their English character, in contrast to Irish peasants who needed moral and practical guidance to improve their lives.[30]

This is a key difference in her approach with these later stories featuring peasants several rungs below their Anglo-Norman cousins. However, these characters do not appear to be more dehumanised, dirtier, or more feckless than those in her Sketches. Ultimately it is not easy to see much of a difference between the heroes and heroines of the Stories and those of her earlier Irish Sketches. If anything, as she is pointing out flaws and ways to remedy them, she is mindful as she says in her letter to also "delineate those virtues which are, to say the least, as prominent and as distinguishing parts of Irish nature."[31]

Edward Said argued that "...nearly every nineteenth-century writer... was extraordinarily well aware of the fact of empire ..."[32] and that many of the major

literary figures had fixed views on race and imperialism. Hall's identity as part of an Anglo-Irish landlord class is particularly pertinent as she always considered her Irishness to be such an integral part of her identity. Like the early Sketches, many of the Stories were also set in Wexford and featured an active narrator who intervened at frequent intervals to point out salient morals lest the reader has missed the point. An authorial aside in the first story "Too Early Wed" announced the following intention:

> My design, however, is to exhibit and illustrate evils less by precept than by example: many will listen to a story who slumber over a sermon; and a picture may be made to speak more eloquently than words.[33]

In many of the tales, the scene is set, the action runs its course and then the author brings the reader forward a few years to see the consequences wrought by the initial failing. The framed narrative is regularly employed. Another key difference in Stories is that the tales explicitly focus on the flaw, addressing how best to correct it. So, for example, in "It's only a drop," Ellen refuses to marry Larry until he promises never to drink whiskey, not even the "least taste" which has proved the ruination of many. The framed narrative is that of the local woman "The Witch of Ballaghton" whose life was destroyed by the extensive drinking of her father and husband. Her tale heightens the drama by accentuating the terrifying consequences of alcoholism and serves as a warning. Larry who was fond of a drop of whiskey is not initially keen:

> Ellen, I'm sure ye've some English blood in yer veins, ye're such a raisoner. Irish women don't often throw a boy off because of a drop: if they did, it's not many marriage dues his Reverence would have, winter or summer.[34]

By the end of the story however, he is convinced, takes the pledge *before* marriage and Ellen has comfort in knowing that she saved him from certain destruction and herself from an unhappy marriage. The old woman's story demonstrates the truth more eloquently to the reader than a straightforward sermon on the evils of drink would.

The inability of the Irish peasant to embrace new initiatives runs through many of the stories. In "The Landlord at Home" Hall's friends the Grogan Morgans, are the model landlords in Johnstown Castle in Wexford, and she laments with them the fact that "my countrymen love 'auld ways!'" and that efforts to introduce new methods of agriculture and industry take time:

> How trite is the observation that Rome was not built in a day! Neither are the Irish to be won round to neatness, and order, and comfort, and 'all that sort of thing' in a day.[35]

Burnt Eagle, the industrious hero of "Time Enough" echoed the same mantra, comparing Irish and English approaches to change:

> As long as they're content with salt and potato, they try for nothing else. Set John Bull down to salt and potato, and see how he'll look.[36]

This reads as unequivocal racial and class prejudice to me;[37] the tendency to identify the Irish as a homogeneous group is pronounced and directly contradicts her plea, stated ten years earlier in "The Irish Cabin," not to "condemn an entire nation, because a few we have met have been not exactly what we admired."[38] The emphasis on the flaws of the Irish in each chapter detracts from the spontaneity of her Stories coupled with the fact that there is a tendency to echo plots and character types from her Sketches. "It's only My Time" in Stories is another version of "Independence" in Sketches. However, while the didactic style of the Stories jars unfavourably (to today's reader), there are many entertaining stories. Hall demonstrates her lightness of touch and sense of humour with tales such as "It's Only a Bit of a Stretch" where Pierce Scanlan lands all his family and friends in trouble with his habit of exaggerating the truth, and the vain "Reddy Ryland" is a cheerful and positive portrait of an endearingly handsome Irish male, whose flaw is that he is over-sensitive to flattery.

It is not easy to determine how many copies of Stories found their way via the landlords to their tenants as originally intended. In the final issue on 30 May 1840, Chambers asserted that the Stories had been circulated widely in Ireland but he acknowledged the difficulty in gauging the evidence and

feedback for this. In The Nation for 18 November 1843, an unfavourable review of Ireland noted that its sale in Ireland up to then was 600 copies, whereas in England it had amounted to 8,000 since the first part was published in 1841. While this was over two years later and for a different publication, it may give some idea as to the lower level of enthusiasm for her publications in Ireland, bearing in mind the bias of The Nation's editor, Charles Gavan Duffy. Duffy dined with the Halls in their house in Firfield in 1853 along with the editor Margaret Oliphant. Oliphant's husband had a lengthy discussion with Duffy about Hall's stories and Duffy heatedly maintained that "the frolic and wit usually attributed to his countrymen were a mere popular delusion."[39]

The publisher's ledgers for 1842-45 give some indication of the popularity of Stories and it certainly compared favourably with other publications listed. It was first published on 12 June 1840 with an initial run of 6,333 copies, followed the next year by 3,164 copies with regular annual or biannual re-printings bringing it to a total of 13,956 copies printed and sold by 1850 giving a profit to Chambers of over £338.[40] A total of 11,300 copies of the second edition, published initially in 1850, was printed, and over the next thirty years, the ledgers show a steady 500 copies printed every two-three years to satisfy demand.[41] Compared to print runs of other authors, Hall's Stories fared well, ranking in the top three in terms of print runs and sales for the year 1843 for example. By that year, over 10,000 copies of her Stories had sold, with only Stephens's Incidents of Travel in Egypt and Guizot's Civilisation having higher print runs and profits. The average print run for other titles that year varied between 5-8,000 copies.

Hall's determination to obtain a fair return for Stories is evident in her correspondence. In a letter dated 26 February 1843, she discussed the possibility of the Stories being issued in a cheaper form and she lost no time in broaching the possibility of further remuneration:

> ... if you think yourself justified in giving me anything for a new edition I shall be glad – if you do not I shall be satisfied... but of course it would remove any idea of republishing them in any other shape, which indeed we have had little notion of doing.[42]

Her gentle but persuasive approach was worthwhile as soon after, in a letter dated 4 March 1843 and written in S. C. Hall's handwriting, he acknowledged the £40 received from the firm dated 11 November 1839 as payment for copyright assigned to W. & R. Chambers for their People's Edition of Stories. The letter also acknowledged a further £20 to extend the licence to Chambers to publish the Stories in any cheap form. S. C. Hall's opinion was sought after for these financial considerations and several of these business letters, located in the Chambers archive were written by him. Both Halls then signed these letters. S. C. Hall's reputation in the publishing world and most likely his gender would have lent greater weight to such business queries and transactions.

Hall received a fee of £6 each for most of the stories appearing originally in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal and £12 - £14 for the two-three part tales such as "The Follower of the Family" or "Going to Law".[43] It is easy to estimate therefore, from the evidence gathered, that between initial journal payments and copyright fees, Hall made at least £200 from this publication alone over a five-year period. This made it lucrative for both publisher and author, auguring well for future commissions.

When Hall commenced writing for Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, her reputation as a writer of Irish short stories was established and would have been a recommendation to any publisher interested in profitable sales. Her next phase of production for Chambers, although consisting of stories ostensibly similar in form and length to her Stories was to have quite a different character and purpose. Perhaps she had exhausted her repertoire of Irish situations or perhaps the market for Irish stories was diminishing as the 1840s progressed but she now turned her attention closer to her actual home, rather than relying for inspiration on memories and anecdotes compiled on her frequent travels to Ireland or dating back to her early childhood years spent in Wexford.

Chambers's Miniature Library of Fiction

> I wish I could write more rapidly – but I truly work hard – I cannot get on quicker as your stories require *thought*.[44]

Between the years 1841-45, Hall wrote further stories for Chambers's Edinburgh Journal. Like her Stories, most of these titles appeared on the front cover, an indication of the regard in which she was held. Some of the shorter stories were complete in themselves: Cleverness 20 May (1843); Tattle 1July (1843); and Deeds-Not Words 4 Nov. (1843). Alongside works by other contemporary writers,[45] these stories were eventually compiled in Chambers's Miniature Library of Fiction in 1858 (Fig. 6.4). Hall's stories included in the latter collection were: The Governess* (Vol. 1); All is Not Gold that Glitters (Vol. 2); The Private Purse and Tattle (Vol. 3); There is No Hurry, and Deeds Not Words (Vol. 4); Turns of Fortune (Vol. 5); Cleverness (Vol. 6); Wives and Husbands (Vol. 9); and The Unjust Judge (Vol. 13). The shorter tales from the original journal publication were combined in some volumes of the Miniature Library of Fiction as in Vols. 3 and 4 above.

Looking at the stories as a group, they are quite different in character from the Stories. Hall was adamant that these stories addressed a different audience and whilst they all extol a particular virtue or moral message, the patronising tone of the latter volume is absent. The fact that these stories were destined for an English audience lent them an entirely different character from her Irish stories and arguably a freedom that permitted greater experimentation with dramatic form. She was well acquainted with the greater London suburbs and villages that provided the settings and inspiration for her tales.

Fig. 6.4 Series frontispiece for Miniature Library of Fiction taken from Vol. 9 entitled Wives and Husbands (1858).

* I am underlining these stories as they became publications in their own right in the Miniature Library

She demonstrated a keen observation of domestic situations amongst those who were, for the most part, of her own social class. Whether she was portraying Kensington ladies agonising over a job description for a new governess (The Governess),[46] a vain grandmother's parlour-room chat with the local curate in Abbeyweld (All is not Gold that Glitters), or the little irritations destroying a marital home in Sloane Street (Wives and Husbands), Hall proved her power as a storyteller. She set the scenes with great skill and credibility, her dialogue was lively and humorous and she had a real ear for social niceties, vexations, triumphs and disasters.

Hall was convinced that these stories were amongst her best:

> With respect to the stories I am now writing for the Journal – I certainly do attach some importance to them – as Mr Hall thinks them the best I have ever written, and if I am to judge from the thought & feeling – I think so too.[47]

Maureen Keane asserted that once Hall stopped writing about Ireland, her talent deserted her and she never wrote anything of literary significance subsequently.[48] However, her English stories were certainly superior to many of those included in the Stories of the Irish Peasantry. It may have been the case that she was weary of the Irish context for her short fiction or realised the potential within the short story format for this setting which she had used for her recent domestic English novels Uncle Horace (1837) and Marian (1840). Her mastery of the short story format can be seen in her two-part Turns of Fortune (1843) with its atmospheric opening sequence portraying the old miser on his deathbed, surrounded by the Gothic trappings of neglected wealth. Parental duty, honour, fate, thwarted love and intrigue, all play their part in this tale. Sarah Bond's long struggle was to emerge "unmarked from the parsimonious influence of her father." She learned many lessons through the "uses of adversity" and her life and that of her village was transformed as a result.[49] Hall's plots are less convoluted than in her novels of the period and her real focus is on character development spurred on by dilemmas provided by the plot. The journey to self-awareness and truth is often long and painful but Hall's particular skill is evident in her empathy with her characters and her ability to

create authentic and credible settings for her tales. These stories feature dramatic reversals of fortune, duels, suicides and tragic deathbed scenes, sufficiently melodramatic for her readers but balanced with sound morals. The narrator is less intrusive than in her Stories, leaving the characters and the action to develop organically.

There are a number of letters in the archive in the National Library of Scotland relating to these stories and providing insights into Hall's views on these stories. It was a difficult period financially for the Halls and there are regular references to the possible value of her submissions, the time spent working on them and always with an eye to reproducing them again in formats that would yield further dividends. The Halls were in the midst of a number of major projects in the early 1840s. S. C. Hall was trying to make the The Art-Union profitable after it was founded in February 1839 but it was still struggling to cover expenses. The Halls were backwards and forwards to Ireland, working on Ireland. On top of that she referred in several letters (undated apart from the year 1841) to her ill health. In one such note, which is barely recognisable as her writing, she says she has been "too ill even to read the proof which Mr Hall had for me".[50] Because of these factors, she was determined that she would receive a fair price for her hard work. For example, she was conscious of retaining copyright and of the extra money that would accrue once she signed that over. In a letter dated 29 October 1841 she noted:

> I forgot to mention that I retain the copyright of my tales as before. I intend to do a Series – the first I shall call "The Private Purse" – which has slain the happiness of thousands of married people. You always praise my exertions, God knows I write with the best intentions – if I fail it is my talent and not my intention.[51]

Her experience with Chambers with her Stories might have led her to assume that they would be happy to do something similar with her "English Stories." There was a strong demand for cheap editions of popular works and a compilation of stories of this kind would be guaranteed to sell well. Having other authors included could dilute the direct interaction of the author with the

audience plus the marketing strength of an established bestselling author. She returned to the question of the series again in a letter dated 26 February 1843:

> I fancy it will require about six stories more to make a properly sized volume for it & should not be one of the smallest or cheapest and the title I have long thought of is "Stories for English Homes" – do you like it? They have taken me a great deal of hard work & caused me much pain – as my stories do – indeed such tales as the Brothers[52] –are nails in my coffin – but no matter for that – I thought to receive more than usual remuneration for them – more indeed than I think you could afford to give me, when I think of the cheap rate you publish at – but I am sure you will give me as much as you can. What would that be? – when they are finished I mean.[53]

Her letters repeatedly revealed a clear paranoia with financial matters and with gaining a fair price for her work. In a letter dated 13 April [1841] she referred to possible payment for The Governess and said:

> My magazine here would give me five and twenty pounds for it. If you think this too much, do not hesitate to say so. I have too much confidence in your justice and your judgement to feel even slightly disappointed and I do not think I should have put a price *at all* upon my productions had *you* not urged me to it.[54]

Six weeks later in a letter dated 29 May 1841 there is more of the same:

> ... my demand now is on your purse – if you will be so good as to remit me the money for these two stories this week, I shall be greatly obliged ... I want as much as I can get as I have not gone in debt but paid weekly as the work went on, the wind up however will demand a good sum.[55]

In general she fared well financially with these stories compared to other authors. The two or three-part stories were worth £20 to her with shorter stories like The Private Purse, Tattle, and Deeds not Words earning £10 each. There were exceptions with the complete one-part story Cleverness listed in the ledger as £20 and the dramatic two-part story Turns of Fortune only listed as worth

£12.[56] Her persistence and regular correspondence paid off and her reputation and hard work meant that Hall did earn more than the average fee for her labours. William Carleton, whose address in the ledger was 9 Upper Sackville House Dublin, averaged £5 for a story (£4 for "The Irish Piper" and £5 each for one of his legends and a story entitled "Kavanagh the Writer.") Other well known contemporary authors such as William Howitt and Eliza Meteyard averaged £3-£5 per single story as detailed in the Cash Payments Journal for transactions for the period 1839-46.[57]

S. C. Hall continued to provide editorial support and encouragement to his wife and her letters are full of references to him including one which mentioned a suggested title for one of her stories. In a letter dated 26 February 1843 she described how:

> Mr Hall has rechristened my story by the name of "Gossip Stings?" – it is a contrast to the others – light & lively until the end.[58]

This referred to the story entitled "Tattle" that appeared in July (1843) and as with her preferred choice of overall title for this series of stories, Chambers did not always choose to agree with her recommendations. In several other documents, the story "Bear and Forbear" is mentioned which ultimately appeared in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal as "Wives and Husbands" in January 1844.[59]

W. and R. Chambers's Trade Catalogue for 1858 lists the thirteen titles of the Miniature Library with single copies selling trade price as 4½d. and otherwise as 6d. The set of thirteen sold for 4s. 6d. trade price and 6s. to the general public. William Robertson of 23 Upper Sackville Street was listed as the Dublin bookseller and William M'Comb for Belfast. Twenty-eight colonial and foreign agents were listed in a number of Canadian, American, Australian and Indian cities. Between their publication in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal and the publication of the Miniature Library, the stories also appear in other formats both at home and abroad and adaptations of the stories are frequently included in other compilations. One example, Tales of Domestic Life published in 1850 by C. S. Francis & Co., New York, included "Bear and Forbear," "The Private

Purse," "Cleverness," "Turns of Fortune," "All is not gold that glitters," and "There is no hurry."

Even though the copyright was paid for in 1843, "seventy pounds" for 11 stories and signed by both of the Halls, similar themes reappeared in subsequent stories and surprisingly, even the same titles were sometimes used for stories that had the same plot only different characters. An example of this was "All is not gold that glitters" which appeared in The Leisure Hour in 1873, remarkably similar to the story of the same title in the Miniature Library. It is unusual that this occurred as it would have been simpler to give it a different title to avoid copyright difficulties but the decision may have been an editorial rather than an authorial one. In any case, there does not appear to be any correspondence relating to this in the archive.

The publisher's ledger for the series shows that 95,275 copies of the Miniature Library were printed and a decade later in 1868, 94,790 of these copies had been sold, certainly another success for Chambers. Despite the fact that she earned good money for the stories, it must have been disappointing not to have been invited to be sole author of a further collection of themed stories. There are no letters in the Chambers archive indicating the rationale behind the creation of the Miniature Library of Fiction nor any reason proffered as to why there was such a delay before it was produced. The market for stories with an English or metropolitan setting may have been excessively crowded already and Hall's prior major selling point was her Irish stories. The growth of rival periodicals and newspapers in the 1840s may have meant that a compilation of "English Stories" could have been a risky venture. On the other hand, Hall may have been too busy with other projects to write sufficient stories to make a collection viable and once the momentum had been lost, Chambers may have felt the need to bring other authors to add variety and interest to the series.

Whatever the reasons were, Hall was soon busy working for Chambers again from 1847-50, this time on a quite different project, the first of four titles aimed specifically at young people. These stories were, on average, 30-35,000 words each and were a new departure for Hall. Whilst she had already written at least five full-length novels by this time, she had not written novellas of this

length previously. Although the action in these books takes place for the most part in England, (Grandmamma's Pocket is the only one set in Ireland) there are several memorable Irish characters in the other titles. The next section will examine the series as a whole before focusing on Hall's contributions to Chambers's Library for Young People.

Chambers's Library for Young People

In November 1847, William Chambers announced that a new series of books would be produced especially for a juvenile audience. Entitled Chambers's Library for Young People, he described them as consisting "principally of moral and religious tales likely to influence the conduct and feelings of youth."[60] The series included history books, accounts of mythology, poetry, songs for young readers and compilation volumes of short stories and fireside amusements. Hall contributed four stories to the series of twenty titles and additional works were added by other authors through to 1870. Appendix I shows the first twenty titles, most published within a four year period from 1848-51. Hall's works included Uncle Sam's Money-Box (1848), Grandmamma's Pockets (1849), The Whisperer (1850) and The Swan's Egg (1851). This section provides an overview of the series, including a brief study of the book covers and illustrations used for the series, and it concludes with a focus on Hall's titles.

The first title in the series was Orlandino, written especially for the series by Maria Edgeworth. It was reviewed in the January issue of The Art-Union for 1848 and there was a palpable sense of anticipation, both with the series as a whole, guaranteed to be "the best of its class" if Messrs. Chambers were involved and also at the fact that the renowned Maria Edgeworth was submitting a new story.[61] The anonymous review is not entirely positive but is in general agreement that "the moral effect of the whole being well wrought out, of what, for that purpose, did not seem a promising commencement." The reviewer continued by stating that it was:

> ... well printed, well bound, with a frontispiece, (which, to be sure, might have been better,) a pretty, trim, brilliant, little volume, of 175 pages, for one shilling!

The competitive pricing was seen as particularly innovative. Bringing Maria Edgeworth in to launch the series was a major coup for Chambers, guaranteed to generate reviews and interest in subsequent titles. However, Edgeworth was over eighty when it was published and her principal aim in writing Orlandino was to help benefit the Irish Poor Relief Fund.[62]

William Chambers outlined, in a two-page advertisement at the end of this book, the gestation of the project. It had been something that he and his brother Robert had planned to do for some years but pressure of work with other projects had meant that they were not in a position to do anything about it until this time. Chambers was keen to point out in the advertisement his awareness of his dual market audience, the parents or guardians and of course their children. He addressed the text to 'My dear Boys and Girls' but included several references to those who would in fact be buying the books:

> It may be agreeable to your parents to know that the subjects will be designed to influence the conduct and feelings, and that the general aim will be to make you better and happier.[63]

He added that the proposed plan was to publish a small number of titles, one issuing every month and that it would be a pleasing addition to any nursery library. In this way, he was encouraging parents to commit to a subscription to the series whilst reassuring them that the publications would be morally uplifting, beneficial, yet entertaining to their children. In Matthew Grenby's article on children's books in British circulating libraries, the author discussed the importance of keeping the guardians of children's literature appeased.[64] Control over children's access to the right kind of books was crucial and there was a fear amongst parents that free and indiscriminate access would contaminate their offspring immeasurably. Nonetheless, in Orlandino, Edgeworth's hero "had the advantage of as many amusing and instructive books as he could devour... in an excellent circulating library in Dublin – [Webbe's]."[65]

In addition to the above concern, Grenby noted that books were prized as luxury possessions by children in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus the physical appearance of the book was important and this aspect was not neglected by Chambers in the same preliminary advertisement. He recalled

how much he enjoyed Mr Newbery's[66] publications as a child and how he intended to follow his example, creating well ornamented volumes with hard boards, unlike other flimsy publications then available for children:

> These are the sort of books which I am going to prepare only they will be much more beautiful, and each will be illustrated with a frontispiece.[67]

It was common practice for publishers to produce a series of books around a common theme and this was a good marketing ploy. Whalley and Chester refer to John Marshall's Juvenile or Child's Library which was published in 1800 which consisted of a collection of miniature books, each bound in coloured paper and the volumes were protected by a miniature book case.[68] Chambers's Library for Young People would not consist of "thin soft covered things" but was to be "something different from that of children's books generally."[69]

The mid-nineteenth century was a key period in the evolution of children's book covers as documented by Michael Sadleir and Ruari McLean.[70] There were changes in the methods used to cover books and a move towards cheaper production methods. Leather was most commonly used prior to the nineteenth century but increasingly, decorated paper boards and cloth bindings became the norm in the new century. They were particularly suitable for children's books and Chambers was aware of the appeal of coloured boards (Fig. 6.5). The design for the first edition of Uncle Sam's Money-Box appeared to have been that used on the earliest titles of this series.

Fig. 6.5 Upper cover of Uncle Sam's Money Box (1848).

According to an advertisement in the back of Jacopo (Fig. 6.8 below), the second volume in the series was The Little Robinson, the third was Uncle Sam's Money-Box followed by Jacopo, the fourth

in the series. The last three volumes have been seen and verified as having this design.[71]

At least four of the titles of the first series also had a binding of green and gold lithographed papers over boards (Figs. 6.6 and 6.7).[72] The title is included on the upper cover and spine and the series title is included on the lower cover. Many remaining library copies of this series have been rebound so it is not possible to determine how many different covers were used for the first series apart from these two designs.

Fig. 6.6 Left. Upper cover of The Swan's Egg (1851).
Fig. 6.7 Right. Lower cover of The Swan's Egg (1851) with series title.

The fact that variant covers were frequently used for the same edition of a book, often with identical patterns but different coloured cloth or paper adds to the bibliographical challenges when studying children's books of this era.[73]

Fig. 6.8. Frontispiece, title page and upper cover of Jacopo and other tales (1848).

Ruari McLean also commented on the sophisticated and attractive designs used on cheap children's series, giving examples from this series but noted that they would not necessarily have direct appeal for children.[74] It was not until the arrival of toy books a decade or so later that children's preferences were taken into account when designing book covers.

The house style of the first edition followed a pattern, which included a half-title for the series, followed by the frontispiece with tissue guard and title page (Fig. 6.8). The title page text was within a red-ruled border and the publisher's stamp was included in red. A number of frontispieces were signed by 'G. Millar, Edinr' including those in the following titles: Uncle Sam's Money-Box (1848), Grandmamma's Pockets (1849), and The Whisperer (1850) by Hall, Clever Boys, and other stories (1848), Jacopo and other tales (1848), and History of Scotland (1851). The original editions for the series did not include further illustrations apart from the frontispiece. Publisher's advertisements were included in some but not all of the series. Fees paid for "Woodcuts/Engraving &c" listed in the Chambers archive[75] for Hall's books were as follows:

Uncle Sam's Money Box	1848	£12	
Grandmamma's Pockets	1849	£9	12s 6d
The Whisperer	1850	£9	12s 6d
The Swan's Egg[76]	1851	£11	11s 4d

The frontispiece for Maria Edgeworth's Orlandino cost £13 17s 10d so there were significant variations from one book to another, possibly dependent on the amount of time a particular engraving took to complete. The ledgers do not differentiate between the artist who provided the drawing and the engraver who prepared it for print – for cheaper publications, the artist and engraver was often one and the same person. These artists were not household names and it is remarkable to note the differences in costs for such engravings compared to those twenty years earlier for S. C. Hall's The Amulet, discussed in Chapter 2.

S. C. Hall referred to Hall's skill in writing children's books and stated that "three of them were published in the series issued by the Brothers Chambers"[77] but they were all out of print as far as he was aware. This inaccuracy reaffirms the necessity to question the validity of his recollections in other key areas.

S. C. Hall was adamant that her books would "certainly bear republication" as she had such a genuine affinity with children. He would have been pleased to know that within the decade, all of his wife's children's books that had been published by Chambers were reissued in the 1890s, with new covers and many additional illustrations. In a publisher's advertisement at the back of The Swan's Egg dated 1890, the New Series Chambers's Library for Young People listed The Swan's Egg and Uncle Sam's Money-Box in the 1 shilling list and The Whisperer in Chambers's Ninepenny Books for the Young. Although not listed in these advertisements, Grandmamma's Pockets was certainly issued around the same period, definitely before 1899. It was listed as a 1 shilling title in the advertisement on the title page verso of the new edition of Uncle Sam's Money-Box. Many of the titles in the original series were not republished. The history books, poems, song books and German translations were gone and a new generation of authors had arrived on the scene, including Mary Molesworth (1839-1921), Edna Lyall (1857-1903) and L. T. Meade (1854-1914).

Fig. 6. 9 Upper covers of The Whisperer (c. 1890s) and Grandmamma's Pockets (c.1899).

The new editions were larger (180mm x 125mm compared to 150mm x 100mm) and were bound in coloured cloth with attractive illustrations in colour on the upper covers and spines (Fig. 6.9). In addition to new frontispieces, there were more illustrations contained in these texts, as one would expect of books from

this period. Plates were interspersed throughout, mostly half-tone engravings rather than steel engravings and numerous stock wood engravings used as letterpieces, headpieces and tailpieces for chapters. These were not always commissioned specifically for the title but freely interchangeable by the publisher for similar themed stories. The cover for the later edition of Uncle Sam's Money-Box was a particularly attractive design signed by Mabel Lucie Attwell (1879-1964). It depicts two children reading beside a window (Fig. 6.10). Attwell first received commissions from W. & R. Chambers at the turn of the century and went on to become a successful illustrator. The bold patterns, confident design and flat picture plane show her assimilation of popular Japanese influences and art nouveau.[78]

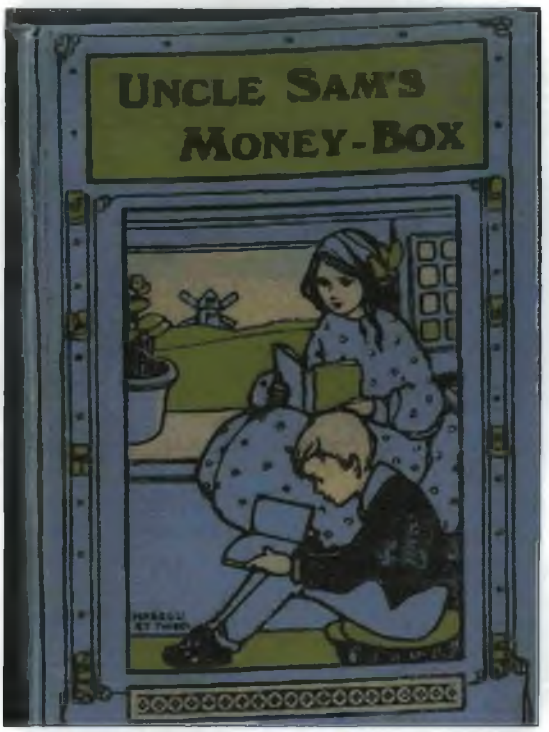

Fig. 6.10 Upper cover design for Uncle Sam's Money-Box by Mabel Lucie Atwell. (c. 1900).

There are difficulties in dating these later editions. Of copies consulted in archives to date, only one title, The Swan's Egg was dated (1890). Binding designs can help identify an approximate date along with attention to contemporary costume styles portrayed in the illustrations.[79]

A brief comparison of the frontispieces for Hall's titles for the earlier and later editions is worthwhile to gauge the publisher's preferences for visual accompaniment to her books. It was unlikely that Hall herself would have been consulted in this process as she only travelled to Scotland on rare occasions. This naturally contrasted with her other publications where her husband's connections as editor of The Art-Union were instrumental in the selection of artists chosen to illustrate her books. The early frontispieces were all steel engravings and the later editions were reproduced as photo-engravings or

halftones, aside from a line-engraved frontispiece for Grandmamma's Pockets (see Figs. 6.11-18). The frontispieces for The Whisperer were the only ones to depict the same incident from the narrative, the only slight difference being that in the later edition, young Edward has moved away from Uncle Jacob to ask the farmer, Joe Martin, for some straw. In the earlier edition, the farmer was portrayed in the background with his gun. In Uncle Sam's Money-Box, the first edition pictured several Indian servants that Uncle Sam was acquainted with when he made his fortune as a linguist with the East India Company. The later edition depicted a less exotic moment when Ernest and Harold were returning from kite-flying on the Downs and Cupid, the shepherd's dog was refusing to return Ernest's hat.

The contrast between the serenity of the scene in the early edition of Grandmamma's Pockets could not be greater when compared to the ferocious scene with a marauding bear confronting Annie Fielder's great-great-grandfather in Switzerland. Hall was a life-long animal lover and the early frontispiece was attuned to the description of her life as an only child in Wexford with her vast array of pets. Equally of interest from an Irish point of view, are the frontispieces to The Swan's Egg, both depicting Simon the Irishman, dressed in his *cotamore* (Irish coat). He is looking after his little charges, Kate and Jane, in the 1851 edition and sheltering lambs from the cold in the 1890 edition. The majority of these images depicted adults protecting and advising children. There are portraits of quiet domestic moments, reflective instructive conversations and the odd moment of high drama. There are portraits along race and class divisions and a preference for natural rural settings.

The four titles by Hall written for Chambers's Library for Young People were highly representative of her work for children. Similar themes pervade the four titles and echo many of her central concerns echoed in earlier chapters of the dissertation: changing fortunes, binary character tropes, didactic narrative devices, the role of The Big House, attitudes towards Irish characters, and resourceful women versus weak men.

Figs. 6.11 and 6.12 Frontispieces to Uncle Sam's Money Box (1848) left and (c. 1900) right.

Figs. 6.13 and 6.14 Frontispieces to Grandmamma's Pockets (1849) left and (c. 1899) right

"If you please, sir, I wanted a little straw to put under yonder old gentleman."

PAGE 71.

Figs. 6.15 and 6.16 Frontispieces to The Whisperer (1850) left and (c. 1890s) right

'I've a pair of *laubies* here, Miss.'

PAGE 7.

Figs. 6.17 and 6.18 Frontispieces to The Swan's Egg (1851) left and (1890) right.

The consequences of changes in family fortunes proved to be a key plot device both in Uncle Sam's Money-Box and The Swan's Egg. Both stories were set in idyllic rural environments in the Home Counties of Berkshire and Surrey. Economic misfortunes brought about either by the collapse of the banks or the effects of the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 set the scene for dramatic change for the principal characters. Hall is concerned with the varying reactions to misfortunes. Adversity brought out the best and worst in people and the reader follows with interest "the healthful experience which a struggle gives."[80] How the binary characters, Kate and Jane, reacted to their reduced circumstances forms the backdrop to The Swan's Egg which was discussed in the section on Animal Tales in Chapter 4. Charles Dickens's daughters read this book and he told Hall that they were "devouring [it] with great delight."[81]

Both The Whisperer and Uncle Sam's Money-Box feature a sage older male returning from travels abroad. These mentor-characters take it upon themselves to teach the younger characters the importance of using their intelligence and of listening closely to their conscience. Uncle Sam was a likeable character, full of hearty good cheer, whereas Cousin Jacob in The Whisperer was a more intimidating tutor, too quick to humiliate the children. The latter is a less successful story, too derivative of Uncle Sam's Money-Box and more didactic in tone. Hall includes a ten-page L'Envoy at the end of the book to emphasise the moral lesson. The relationships between the mentors, Sam and Jacob, and their charges Harold and Edward, reveal a male bonding scenario that is less common in her other children's books where female characters play a more central role. The first edition of The Whisperer was dedicated to the author's nephew Bonny so this was an ideal opportunity to foreground a young male protagonist.

Grandmamma's Pockets was the only one of the four titles to be set wholly in Ireland and as can be seen in the following references, there is every indication that it was autobiographical. S. C. Hall included a paragraph from Grandmamma's Pockets in his Retrospect[82] where he referred to her great love of animals and the sea nearby. Annie Fielder, the heroine, lived at Dove Hall and the author described life at the Big House with great affection and detail:

> Annie was patriotic; and in after-life, when she left her own land, and resided in England, such had been the happy effect of well-ordered English management at the Hall, that she wondered when she heard careless and disorderly habits imputed to the Irish.[83]

A continuous thread throughout the story was the dependence of the community on the benevolence of the inhabitants of the Big House. Annie's grandmother and mother were constantly out and about visiting schools, savouring "the happiness of visiting the cottages, and listening to the wants of the poor cottagers, with the power of relieving them."[84] At Christmas time, the custom of distributing food to the needy was honoured and "Annie enjoyed the festivity all the more, from the knowledge that the poor for once had an English dinner in their Irish homes."[85] The excitement of the mummers' visit to Dove Hall on New-Year's Day was something that was thoroughly enjoyed by the whole community.

There are other references to Irish characters in Hall's books for this series. In The Whisperer, Cousin Jacob made references to an Irish vacation he had as a young boy. His account of the Horse Whisperer, stable life and old Johnny Fagin the groom, was rather stereotypical. Jacob's audience reacted accordingly as he "mimicked the Irish accent so well, that the children laughed in merry chorus."[86] While Annie's Irish maidservant Margate played a background role in Grandmamma's Pockets, Simon, the Irish shepherd at Forest Farm in The Swan's Egg was a central character, playing a similar role to Randy the fairy man in Midsummer Eve. His skills and his advice were sought time and again but there was always a patronising air of condescension towards him:

> Everything was made of a bright rose colour by the uneducated but happy-minded man; and while his absurdities caused a smile, his activity and good-humour were as pleasant sunshine in a shady place.[87]

He had been at Forest Farm for twenty years and still wore his "national *cotamore*, or long blue greatcoat" with its coat-tails that could not be cut off as "they belong to ould Ireland."[88] Like Randy, he was portrayed as close to

nature, communing with the morning star and with an endless supply of useful tales and proverbs from Irish folklore to demonstrate an important point to Kate and Jane. His ability to tell parables, his earthiness and affinity with nature, his inherent wisdom and unwavering loyalty are characteristics of this Irish archetype so favoured by Hall. Yet, like Randy and Matty, Hall sees these types in terms of a primitive "other" outside the range of her comprehension.

Strong female characters abound in Hall's children's books with patriarchal figures generally in short supply. They are usually dead, ailing or away travelling. When Farmer Kemp's farm in The Swan's Egg failed, he was incapable of functioning. He became a confused and pathetic figure, reliant on his sister Miss Lyddy and Kate to keep him alive. Likewise when the bank collapsed in Uncle Sam's Money-Box, Mr Hayward took to the bed leaving his wife, elder daughter Charlotte, and son Harold to pick up the pieces. In Grandmamma's Pockets, the master of Dove Hall was an aloof character in the wings of the matriarchal household, dependent on his wife's good sense:

> Grandpapa always seemed as if everything went ill when his wife of many years was not on the spot to be consulted.[89]

The themes in these stories therefore reflect Hall's ongoing concerns with nationality, childhood and gender. The next question is whether they proved successful or not both from the author's perspective and that of the firm.

Extensive records exist in the Archives in the National Library of Scotland for these stories and Appendix I shows selected publishing figures for the first twenty titles in this series including dates of first publication, fee paid to author, initial and total print runs and profits for Chambers.[90] An analysis of the figures reveals that Hall was paid well in comparison to other authors. Three of her four titles rank in the top five earners where she received over £50 per title.[91] Uncle Sam's Money-Box fared well in all categories, earning the second highest profit of £232 for Chambers, the third highest initial print run and the fifth highest total print run with 44,569 titles sold by the end of 1880. Grandmamma's Pockets made a healthy profit of £171 for Chambers, coming in at seventh overall with 37,289 copies sold but the figures for The Swan's Egg were somewhat disappointing in comparison with 23,388 copies sold and an overall profit for the

firm of £82. Over the 30 years from first publication date, the publisher made an initial print run, followed by smaller reprints on average every two-three years, with runs varying in quantity from 1,500-2,500. Appendix J gives a summary of the printing history of Uncle Sam's Money-Box. There is no pattern as to why the quantities are never rounded up to clear-cut numbers but the figures listed in the ledger for the fourteen-year period between 1848-62 provide an accurate picture of the business of publishing at this time. There are details of binding costs, presentation copies to the author, paper and printing costs and the marketing figures for the firm's outlay for advertising per title.

Hall's children's books for Chambers were evidently pitched at the cheaper end of the market in comparison to a gift book production such as her fairy tale, Midsummer's Eve, published in 1848, the same year as Uncle Sam's Money-Box. However, it is worth noting that although her four titles for Chambers were still making profits into the new century, her expensive fairy tale never recouped its costs.

Conclusion

Hall had a long and fruitful professional association with the Chambers firm and she was a close friend of William Chambers who was her exact contemporary, outliving her by just two years. In his Story of a Long and Busy Life published in 1882, he spoke highly of her and always called to see her at her home in Brompton in London on his visits to the city.[92] Her letters to William are full of domestic detail. She asked "How are all my little friends? And their dear Mama and your brother..." and wrote often about her own adopted daughter, "Fanny is marvellously improved in her music... she sends her love to all the Misses Chambers and thanks Amelia for the beads."[93] Hall made several visits to Edinburgh but appeared to have suffered a severe chest infection during one visit and regretted in a letter dated 12 October [n.d.] that: "I shall never see you all in your own land again, however I hope to see you here."[94] The difficulty of conducting professional correspondence with personal friends seemed not to cause any undue anxiety and personal and business matters are not separated in many of her letters.

Hall's generous nature meant that she often recommended the work of others to William Chambers, interceding for those who might be finding it hard to publish their work. A letter dated 9 February 1872 submitted a book of recipes to William Chambers "my friend Miss Hooper has paid much attention to the subject and I know the dishes are excellent – I hope you will publish it."[95] As stated already, Hall was an agent for Chambers in London and actively recommended promising new writers. Hazel Morris recounted the help she gave to John O'Neill, a poet shoemaker, who was writing some fairy tales and legends from Ireland. Hall wrote to William Chambers hoping that he would include some of it in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.[96] Hall even wrote on one occasion seeking a situation for S. C. Hall's nephew, Mr Louis Rochat, a Swiss by birth who had been working in New York." He is honourable and industrious, speaks English well and will do anything."[97]

Chambers was only one of many publishers that Hall worked with and it can be assumed that similar exchanges would have taken place with her other editors and publishers, taking up a good deal of her working day. The letters to William Chambers offer the reader valuable insights into how she felt about her writings, how S. C. Hall supported her various projects, the financial difficulties that drove her productivity even when she was suffering from ill health, the length of time it took to complete a work and an intimate sense of her family life and priorities.

Taken as a body of work, the three separate areas of literary endeavour for the Chambers firm showed remarkable consistencies. Hall's maternal voice is evident in her didactic works whether she was writing about the Irish peasant, an English domestic setting or a childhood scenario. Her characters need to be brought in line, lovingly yet firmly and wayward ways changed through firm but kindly advice. Keane, when referring to Hall's unwavering support for parliamentary Union between Britain and Ireland wryly commented that it was not a Union of equals, of parity between two nations but a relationship between a superior power and an inferior subject. While the maternal voice worked successfully in Hall's children's books and indeed in many of her domestic English stories, her infantilisation of the Irish peasant and her sense that

maturity could not be acquired without outside help was to prove increasingly more unpopular with Irish readers as the century advanced.

Notes

[1] Apart from W. & R. Chambers, Hall worked with the following publishers during her professional career: Chapman & Hall, Darton & Clark, Frederick Westley & A. H. Davis, George Routledge & Co., George Virtue, Griffith & Farran, Groombridge and Sons, Henry Colburn, How & Parsons, J. Nisbet, Lambert, Lloyd Bros & Co., Longman, Marcus Ward & Co., Milner, Palmer & Clayton, Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, T. Nelson and Sons, W. S. Orr & Co. and Ward, Lock & Co. How Hall's publishers liaised with each other and with publishers in America is a topic that merits further study.

[2] Westley and Davis published The Amulet, The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not and her Sketches of Irish Character but they went bankrupt in 1837.

[3] Hall had ongoing differences with George Virtue and it was one of the reasons for her short period as editor at Sharpe's London Magazine.

[4] I examine her stories for Chambers's Miniature Library, those I interpret as her domestic or "gender" stories before her children's books to keep a chronological element to her work for the Chambers firm. In the dissertation overall, the order is different. Nationality is treated chiefly in Chapter 3, childhood in Chapter 4 and gender in Chapter 5.

[5] William Chambers, Chambers's Edinburgh Journal 4 Feb. 1832: 1. William Chambers was joined by his brother Robert with the fourteenth number of the journal and from then the firm was called W. & R. Chambers.

[6] Laurel Brake, "Star Turn? Magazine, Part-issue, and Book Serialisation," Victorian Periodicals Review 34.3 (2001) 224.

[7] William Chambers, Story of a Long and Busy Life (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1882) 33.

[8] Charles Knight (1791-1873) was a major publisher of improving literature and Knight's Penny Magazine flourished from its first issue on 31 March 1832 (eight weeks after the inaugural Chambers's Edinburgh Journal). It was an influential magazine with a large circulation but it folded in 1845.

[9] Michael Feldberg, "Knight's 'Penny Magazine' and 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal': a problem in writing cultural history," Victorian Periodicals Newsletter 1:3 (1968) 13-14.

[10] Chambers, Story 34.

[11] Chambers, Story 34-35.

[12] Richard Altick, The English Common Reader (1957; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) 36-37 and 280.

[13] Altick 393-394. He listed the weekly figures at 50,000 in 1832 and 60-70,000 in 1849, noting however the difficulty in gaining exact figures based on publisher's own figures, unintentional inaccuracies, trade rumour and speculation.

[14] Chambers, Story 33.

[15] Other titles in Box 4 (Fig. 6.2) included a range of travel literature: Lamartine's Travels in the East, Malcolm's Travels in Hindustan and China, Stephens's Incidents of Travel in Egypt along with such popular titles as Sir Walter Scott's novel Rob Roy and poem The Lay of the Last Minstrel.

[16] Mrs S. C. Hall, The Whisperer (London: W. & R. Chambers, [c. 1890]) [118].

[17] Kate Flint, The Woman Reader 1837-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002) 71-117.

[18] Flint 71.

[19] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 17 [1]. See Appendix G.

[20] Keane 73.

[21] This abbreviated form of the title will be used for the remainder of this chapter.

[22] Chambers's Edinburgh Journal 30 May 1840: 147. The following note concluding the series appeared with the final part of "Debt and Danger II."

> ... so concludes series Stories of the Irish Peasantry... with patriotic view of improving morals and economy of her fellow

countrymen as well as of amusing and perhaps instructing readers among humbler classes in Britain.

[23] Mayo "Two Old Friends" 306.

[24] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 428.

[25] See text referred to by footnote 44 below.

[26] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 17 [1]. See Appendix G.

[27] While the mast for the Journal reads Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, it is referred to as Chambers's Edinburgh Journal in all other references located to date, including within the Journal itself and in William Chambers's Story of a Long and Busy Life. I have referred to it as Chambers's Edinburgh Journal throughout the dissertation.

[28] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Cry from Ireland," The Art-Union Apr. 1841: 141.

[29] Keane 96-97

[30] Loeber, Guide 534.

[31] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 17 [1]. See Appendix G.

[32] Said 14

[33] Stories 12

[34] Stories 37

[35] Stories 84

[36] Stories 24

[37] I am aware that in expressing these views, I am not expressing values widely prevalent in this context in the nineteenth century.

[38] "The Irish Cabin," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1830): 171. See Chapter 3, page 1.134 for earlier discussion.

[39] Morris 74.

[40] Dep 341/274 Publication Ledger No. 1, with title index 1842-45.

[41] Dep 341/275 Publication Ledger No. 2, with title index 1845-67

[42] Dep 341/313 Receipts literary labour 39-40. Letter dated 26 February 1843.

[43] Dep 341/367 Cash payments to authors for contributions to Journal and other work 1839-46. "Reddy Ryland", "The Crock of Gold", "It's only my time", Going to Service", "The Wrecker" earned £6 each. "The Follower of the Family" and "Debt and Danger" £12 each and "Going to Law" £14. "Union is Strength" and "Family Union", both shorter than the average length story were given £3 each.

[44] Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter 1 dated 13 April [1841].

[45] Other titles included in the Miniature Library were: The Gentleman of the Family: A Tale by Camilla Toulmin (afterwards Crosland); The Cross of Santa Rosalia by Percy Bolingbroke Saint John; Be Just before you are Generous by Anne Maria Sargeant and two anonymous titles; Tuft-Hunting, and other Tales and The Serf-Girl of Moscow.

[46] Charles Dickens referred to Hall's story in a letter dated 23 April 1844. "Many thanks for Chambers's Journal. Your Governess is an immense relief to that somewhat cast-iron and utilitarian publication ... and I have read it with very great pleasure. It is delicately and beautifully done, with a womanly touch that cannot be mistaken." Charles Dickens, The Letters of Charles Dickens 1844-1846, eds. Madeline House, Graham Storey, and Kathleen Tillotson, vol. 4 (Oxford: University Press, 1977) 110-11.

[47] Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter 6 dated 26 February 1843.

[48] Keane 205.

[49] Turns of Fortune 109.

[50] Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter 2 dated 1841.

[51] Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter dated 29 October 1841.

[52] This probably referred to There is no Hurry, the tale of two brothers from the village of Repton. It was her most pessimistic story in this series.

[53] Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter 6 dated 26 February 1843.

[54] Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter 1 dated 13 April [1841].

[55] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 15 dated 29 May 1841.

[56] Dep 341/367 Cash payments to authors for contributions to Journal and other work 1839-46.

[57] Dep 341/367 Cash payments to authors for contributions to Journal and other work 1839-46.

[58] Dep 341/313 Receipts for Literary Labour 39-40. Letter 5 dated 26 Feb. 1843.

[59] Mrs S. C. Hall, "Wives and husbands" Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (20 Jan: 1840) [49].

[60] Maria Edgeworth, Orlandino (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1848) [title page verso].

[61] Rev. of Orlandino by Maria Edgeworth, The Art-Union Jan. (1848): 35.

[62] Augustus J. C. Hare, ed., The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, vol. 2 (Charleston S.C.: BiblioBazaar, 2008) 248. In an undated letter to Hall, referring to this publication, which was for the benefit of the Irish Poor Relief Fund, Maria Edgeworth wrote:

> Chambers, as you always told me, acts liberally. As this was to earn a little money for our parish poor, in the last year's distress, he most considerately gave prompt payment. Even before publication, when the proof sheets were under correction, came the ready order in the Bank of Ireland. Blessings on him! And I hope he will not be the worse for me. I am surely the better for him and so are a number now working and eating; for Mrs Edgeworth's principle and mine is to excite the people to work for

good wages and not, by gratis feeding, to make beggars of them, and ungrateful beggars as the case may be.

The letter is included between one dated 11 June 1847 and another dated 27 Oct. 1847 which would tally both with the Famine situation in Ireland and leading up to the publication of Orlandino.

[63] Orlandino (1848) [2] pages advertisements at end of book.

[64] M. O. Grenby, "Adults Only? Children and Children's Books in British Circulating Libraries 1748-1848," Book History 5 (2002): 27.

[65] Orlandino 137.

[66] John Newbery (1713-67), a London bookseller, was one of the first to appreciate the commercial importance of the children's book market. His well-illustrated books were influential and much imitated. Whalley and Chester 23.

[67] Orlandino (1848) [2] pages advertisements at end of book.

[68] Whalley and Chester 118.

[69] Orlandino (1848) [2] pages advertisements at end of book.

[70] Michael Sadleir, The Evolution of Publishers' Binding Styles 1770-1900 (New York: Garland, 1990); Ruari McLean, Victorian Publishers' Book-Bindings in Paper (London: Gordon Fraser, 1993).

[71] The cover of The Little Robinson is reproduced on page 38 of Ruari McLean's book, Uncle Sam's Money-Box was confirmed in the National Library of Scotland and Jacopo is in my own collection.

[72] The green and gold covered paper bindings have been identified to date on Clever Boys and other stories (1848), Grandmamma's Pockets (1849), The Whisperer (1850) and The Swan's Egg (1851).

[73] Whalley and Chester 120.

[74] Ruari McLean, Victorian Publishers' Book-Bindings in Paper (London: Gordon Fraser, 1993) 38.

[75] Dep 341/275. Publication Ledger No. 2, with title index 1845-67.

[76] The frontispiece to the first edition of The Swan's Egg is signed by "Swanston of Edinburgh."

[77] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 455.

[78] Harold Osborne, ed., The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) 45-49. Art Nouveau was a decorative style that emerged in the 1890s featuring a preference for asymmetry, flowing organic shapes and sinuous curved and undulating line.

[79] My copy of Grandmamma's Pockets has a school prize label dated 1899.

[80] Uncle Sam's Money-Box [c. 1900] 84.

[81] Charles Dickens, letter to Mrs Hall, 1 October 1851. The Letters of Charles Dickens1850-1852, eds. Madeline House, Graham Storey, and Kathleen Tillotson, vol. 6. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) 503-504. Hall had written to Dickens to complain that her name was not included in a list of notable children's authors mentioned in Household Words. He apologised that he had not noticed the omission in the proofs, promised to read her book and also vowed "I will not lose an opportunity of repairing the fault."

[82] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 2 424.

[83] Grandmamma's Pockets [c. 1899] [22].

[84] Grandmamma's Pockets [c. 1899] 21.

[85] Grandmamma's Pockets [c. 1899] 64.

[86] The Whisperer [c. 1890] 32.

[87] Swan's Egg (1851) 52.

[88] Swan's Egg (1851) 9. Simon's coat-tails play a starring role in the story with multiple and varied uses: keeping the children dry in a shower of rain; protecting new-born lambs; and dusting the house.

[89] Grandmamma's Pockets [c. 1899] 39.

[90] Jacopo and other tales is not listed in their ledgers but according to the advertisement in my own copy of this title, Jacopo was the fourth volume in the series as already noted.

[91] As with her earlier writings, copyright was an issue for Hall and a letter dated 27 December 1847 acknowledged a total of £75 for Uncle Sam's Money-Box, £50 for the story and a further £25 for the copyright.

[92] Chambers 75.

[93] Dep 341/94 Letters of noted persons. Bound volume 1840-45. Letter 50.

[94] Dep 341/94 Letters of noted persons. Bound volume 1840-45. Letter 48.

[95] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 13.

[96] Morris 126.

[97] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 14.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

This dissertation set out to examine Hall's perceptions of nationality, childhood and gender through a range of her publications, with a particular emphasis on those that were illustrated. The aim was to explore how these texts embodied Hall's didactic aims and the degree to which the visual elements engaged the reader. Hall was drawn to the Irish peasant, to children and to adolescent women, all of whom appealed to her maternal instinct to guide, encourage, and correct where necessary. The strength of her evangelical convictions that aspired to transform society through personal effort, community activism and independence, reinforced this instinct. She emphasised these values repeatedly in her publications. Throughout the six chapters of this work, I focused on how her ekphrastic writings facilitated the mimicking or imitation of those desirable traits and values that she supported so vehemently. In order to assess the findings of this dissertation, the conclusion is divided into five short sections: chapter analysis and key points; Hall as an innovator; Hall's constraints; Hall and the "Fearful Realities" of Irish life; the innovative contributions of this study to scholarship and the way forward for future research.

Chapter Analysis and Key Points

Chapter 1 served as an introduction to the dissertation, setting out a number of relevant contexts within which to situate Hall, such as her biographical history, the cultural circle that influenced her life and work, and the critical response to her literary output, not only during her lifetime but the assessment of her work to date. The conceptual framework was defined through a detailed exploration of how the dual concepts of ekphrasis and mimesis facilitate a coherent and workable method of approaching Hall's attitude to nationality, childhood and gender. The rationale for the organisation of the thesis therefore was made explicit in the introduction, with chapters dedicated to each of the key areas in turn: Chapter 3 on nationality, Chapter 4 on childhood, Chapter 5 on gender, and Chapter 6, which combined all three areas through an assessment of Hall's

output for Chambers' publishers. Chapter 1 also provided an introduction to Hall's narratorial voice, her settings, characters, plots and themes, use of dialect and genre preferences. This overview of the formal elements of her work set the scene for further references to these aspects in later chapters. In addition to an outline of the methodological approach to the dissertation, Chapter 1 therefore set the parameters of the study and its working methods.

Chapter 2 was an introductory chapter of another kind, one that analysed Hall's relationship with art and how her use of ekphrasis intensified her search for what she considered mimetic truth. Hall wrote about art constantly, attended the major exhibitions, entertained artists and was surrounded by works of art in her home. Above all, she sought to share her belief in the morality inherent in good art; its relationship to nature and the divine; and the artist's responsibility to share this heightened awareness of truth and reality with all, in particular the humbler classes. The chapter positioned Hall within the aesthetic milieu of the early Victorian period against a backdrop of flourishing royal patronage, Germanic influences and a growing market and interest in art. Through a detailed analysis of a selection of Hall's publications, I explored how ekphrastic hope and ekphrastic fear, as theorised by Mitchell, played out in different ways in these texts but depended on a number of variables. As illustrated texts played such an important role in the dissertation, Chapter 2 set the textual/visual relationship centre-stage as a context for subsequent chapters. It raised issues including the impact of such variables as the publisher's role, financial considerations and the artist's ability to respond sympathetically and creatively to Hall's work. The unexpected conclusion to this analysis was that illustrations frequently presented difficulties for Hall, either curtailing the efficacy of her tale or generating further work in terms of text adjustment and additions.

The interpretation of mimesis as "colonial mimicry," as outlined by Homi Bhabha, formed the basis of Chapter 3, which examined Hall's colonial representations of the Irish. Her ekphrastic writing, which urged others, especially the English, to explore Ireland's "exotic" characters and customs, was part of her didactic mission to spread the word abroad about Ireland. However, her overarching imperial attitude was encapsulated in the excerpt from her letter

regarding her Stories of the Irish Peasantry. These stories were: "addressed more especially to the Humbler Classes; designed to correct certain faults in the Irish Character, which because of their universality, may be almost termed 'National.'"[1] Hall's prejudices were undisguised and her simplistic solution was to urge the Irish to imitate the infinitely superior ways of the English, especially the bourgeois English. Hall subscribed therefore to a dependency model of nationality as noted in my introduction and Hall, like Arnold and Renan later in the nineteenth century, viewed the Irish as wanting in maturity. As an Anglo-Irish woman, Hall felt that she was eminently placed to reason with and persuade the Irish to recognise their flaws and reform their behaviour. Chapter 3 also traced Hall's development as a writer, from the storytelling tradition gleaned from her childhood in Wexford, to her adoption of the sketch as a suitable vehicle for her early tales. Her interest in phrenology and physiognomy was also shown to contribute to her many negative portraits of the Irish. Through an analysis of three focal areas, the Irish cabin, the idealised Irish woman, and the stock beggar figure, the dissertation assessed the varied ways in which this imagery reinforced or contradicted her "truthful" portraits.

Chapter 4 introduced another interpretation of mimesis drawn from the Social Sciences, this time a form of mimicry in which the child learns from the adult through imitation, a concept that lay at the heart of Hall's children's books. The process involves learning by observation and imitation. Behaviour is thus internalised for later use when the child encounters similar situations. This concept of social learning theory, as articulated by Albert Bandura in the 1970s, framed the discussion of her children's books in Chapter 4. Hall was influenced by a number of contemporary pedagogical theories and her own childhood experiences of education had a significant impact on the views expressed in her children's books. She viewed the child through the lens of her romantic and evangelical sensibility. A child was tainted with original sin but would thrive if nurtured, encouraged and guided along the correct path. Hall's enthusiasm and commitment to her child readers was evident in the wide-ranging genres in her repertoire. This chapter highlighted aspects of her school, animal, fairy and ghost stories; and a combination of domestic and fantasy writings. Other areas

discussed in these contexts included educational opportunities for girls; the role of the governess in the nineteenth century; Victorian attitudes to animals; the literary fairytale; and the impact of Spiritualism on Hall's ghost fiction. A case study of her Irish fairytale Midsummer Eve revealed the challenges she faced with a complex publication of this kind. One of the key points that emerged from this study of her children's books was her tendency to "endlessly rework" her childhood (as quoted by Jacqueline Rose in my introduction). Hall's many mimetic representations of her own childhood pervade her entire literary oeuvre.

Mimesis as empowerment forms the subject of Chapter 5 which examined closely Hall's professional and personal relationship with her husband. It also explored her own professional career as an author and editor in what was a predominantly male environment. Such works as "The Curse of Property" and A Woman's Story revealed Hall's perspective on the high points, the low points and the sheer drudgery of this profession for many women authors in the mid-nineteenth century. The support and reciprocal encouragement of other women authors provided an empowering network to counterbalance the challenges of the era, exemplified both by Hall's avowed preference for a female readership and her frequent portrayal of weak and powerless male characters. Hall was, at all times, acutely conscious of the demands of Poovey's "Proper Lady." She was a devoted wife to S. C. Hall, and although their marriage was long and apparently happy, this chapter highlighted areas that could have caused conflict in their professional relationship. Hall's domestic responsibilities took precedence over her literary career and this adjustment was vital for the stability of their marriage. Despite the necessity to appear self-effacing and self-sacrificing, I demonstrated in Chapter 5 how Hall, through her ekphrastic writing found ways to resist the dominant discourses. Through her distinctive form of *écriture féminine* and through her female characters, Hall explored ways to subtly undermine male dominance. While she overtly deplored the "strong-minded" woman who literally wanted to imitate or change clothes/place with a man, her use of such stereotypes served to ironically call those views into question, an example of Irigaray's strategic essentialism.

Chapter 6 served as a case study of one major publisher, William and Robert Chambers in Edinburgh, and it reinforced the effectiveness of the mimesis-ekphrasis conceptual framework. Through Hall's varied writings for Chambers, her didactic concerns on nationality, gender and childhood were brought together again in an analysis of her Stories of the Irish Peasantry, Chambers's Miniature Library of Fiction and Chambers's Library for Young People. Different in emphasis from the earlier chapters, the focus was on practical considerations for Hall: her earnings, print runs, correspondence on financial matters, the illustration of her books for Chambers in early and later editions, and how her books were marketed in trade catalogues and advertisements of the period.

The above summary served to bring together the findings as outlined in the six chapters. The next section of the conclusion assesses how Hall can be considered an innovative figure in the light of the approaches taken in this dissertation.

Hall as an Innovator

Hall was a versatile writer, ambitious to extend her literary boundaries, driven by economic necessity, opportunism and an awareness of the marketplace. In this she exemplified the strong bourgeois values of industry, enterprise and ambition. She was pragmatic, as was evident in her sensitivity regarding the financial worth of her work. Her acute awareness of the shifting vagaries in literary trends was demonstrated in her correspondence with Chambers and others, in particular her friend Francis Bennock (1812-90), a prominent literary patron. She lived through an era of extensive change in literary fashions and book production, so the need to be flexible and adaptable was essential to survive in what became a very crowded market. This was particularly evident in her account of life as a professional writer in A Woman's Story in Chapter 5. Her ability to turn her hand to any format or any genre meant that she was less restricted in her response to change when required. Her letters overall paint a portrait of a confident, sympathetic and highly organised woman who was unafraid to pursue her goals, make use of her contacts and ask for assistance

and advice when necessary. She had a sound head for financial matters and was alert to the potential consequences of her husband's ambitious projects. As a busy working woman who earned her living in a tough professional environment, Hall was therefore an exceptional figure who was unfailingly supportive to others who came within her sphere.

In a number of other ways, Hall was an innovative figure: she was in the vanguard of an Irish regional short fiction movement; her fantasy writings saw her as an early exponent of the literary fairytale in Ireland; her illustrated books were lauded; and she was sought after for her editorial skills, making a significant contribution to children's annuals and leading London periodicals.

Hall was one of the first regional Irish writers, along with contemporaries such as the Banim brothers, Gerald Griffin[2] and William Carleton to use the short-story format to focus on the lives of the Irish peasantry, set in a distinct and identifiable Irish location. Her preference, to study the characters of the peasant class rather than her own Anglo-Irish class, was well documented, and it resulted in a sustained commentary on the lives and events affecting a recognisable Irish rural community. There was an obvious audience in Ireland and England for such stories from the mid-1820s-30s.

Hall was also one of the first writers to experiment with the Irish literary fairytale. From the 1820s, Crofton Croker and Keightley had paved the way forward by gathering Irish fairy and folktales but Hall's attempt to fashion these legends and folktales into her own creation was noteworthy. While Midsummer Eve was neither a commercial nor a literary success, it was innovative. She created a selection of fairy characters and placed them in an Irish setting, merging Irish superstitions and legends such as that of the changeling and the O'Donoghue legend with those purely of her own imagination. Other Irish figures such as Patrick Kennedy (1801-73) and William Allingham (1824-89) were working in this field from the mid-1850s so she can be situated within a history preceding the explosion of interest in Irish fairytales later in the century with the work of Lady Wilde (1821-96), Lady Gregory (1852-1932) and William Butler Yeats (1865-1939).

Another aspect of Hall's innovation lay in her pioneering illustrated books. The credit for this rests chiefly on her husband's hard work in that he coordinated the artists in works such as Ireland and Midsummer Eve but it was her writing that inspired the artists. In describing Midsummer Eve, S. C. Hall wrote that "no work so perfect has issued from the press during the century."[3] While taking his natural bias into consideration and acknowledging that it was not the first book to employ the integrated vignette and single rule framing the page, it was a "handsome" book by all accounts. In his estimate of her books, Buchanan-Brown referred to the innovative style of individual artists, those of the "shaded outline school" such as Paton, Elmore and Franklin who anticipated the retreat from the vignette in the later 1850s or Huskisson's striking use of the circular frontispiece that was to influence later artists working in the field of book illustration. [4]

Hall was also a diligent editor, well known for her skills in this profession. Thanks to her numerous contacts in the literary world, her contributors were top-ranking writers and artists. In particular, she saw the importance of well produced children's books, and urged that children should not be short-changed in terms of quality of text and illustration. Her prefaces to The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not chart this concern:

> It will be evident that no expense has been spared to combine taste and elegance with qualities of greater importance ... the production of a volume beneficial to those whose future character must in a great measure depend on their early impressions.[5]

She repeated this concern in an edition published two years later:

> I do not hesitate to submit the present volume as a considerable improvement on those by which it has been preceded. It will be at once obvious that such is the case with the embellishments and the binding.[6]

Despite her evident skills and many innovations, Hall was not pioneering enough to ensure a place in the literary canon. The next section adduces some of the reasons for this by highlighting the constraints that Hall faced.

Hall's Constraints

A number of contributory factors held Hall back from achieving her full potential. These include her working environment, her husband's personality and latent jealousy, and her inability to find an artist to bring out the best in her work. Hall lived through a transitional period in all aspects of publishing and these factors conspired against the creation of truly innovative publications.

After a successful period early in her career, by the mid-1840s Hall found herself working in a crowded market place and she had to work hard to gain a realistic price for her work. Like many other authors, she had to lobby vigorously to promote her books and it was a challenge to gain the kind of publicity required to make any kind of comfortable living from her writing. Her husband had enemies in the publishing world, which was inevitable given the nature of his work: either for personal, religious or rival reasons, some periodicals refused to carry advertisements or reviews of her work. This was a particular problem with the Illustrated London News whose founder, Herbert Ingram (1811-60), had a personal grudge against the Halls.

According to a variety of contemporary accounts, S. C. Hall was not viewed as an easy personality. In many of her letters, Hall refers to problems arising from his tendency to take on projects that over-extended his resources. Financial considerations were an ongoing theme in her correspondence and the fact that the couple moved house so many times may be an indication of their precarious financial situation. On a personal level, while S. C. Hall worked hard to promote his wife's literary endeavours, he was not always ready to acknowledge his full debt to the work she did for him on various publications and he was evidently jealous of the immense initial success she achieved. While he encouraged her literary efforts and used his contacts tirelessly to promote her work, his Retrospect had the last word on her life and career and whether unwittingly or not, his vague and inaccurate account of her achievements effectively wrote her out of history.

Despite Hall's privileged position, her advantages did not serve her as well as might have been anticipated. She was at the heart of the art world, at the peak of her literary achievements with an enviable cast of artists who

worked on her books. Yet somehow the pieces did not all add up to an enduring publication. The finest illustrations were used for Midsummer Eve, a story that did not quite work, yet her best story, Can Wrong Be Right?, was illustrated by a well known artist who had passed his peak. Of all her books, her Sketches had the potential to stimulate the creativity of a suitable artist but when it was illustrated in 1844, the conditions were not quite right and it was uneven, a work of multiple artists with multiple styles. What she really needed was an artist who could respond to her work and provide a sustained commitment to her distinct blend of humour and characterisation.

In terms of literary trends, Hall was also unlucky in the timing of her publications and was never considered as a code breaker. Maria Nikolajeva has described how cultural codes change and evolve and this can be applied equally to Hall's illustrated books and her fairytales.[7] For example, the prevailing code for illustrated books up to the mid-1840s was to employ many artists in the cause of book illustration and likewise, fairytales were invariably conventional extensions of the didactic tale. In the 1860s the cultural code shifted, leading to a new mode of visual presentation. Artists had ever-closer working relationships with their authors, and readers recognised the potential of fairytales to subvert prevailing attitudes about society, religion, gender and authority. Taking Midsummer Eve as an example therefore, it can be shown that it was not a code breaker, but the many diverse elements of its production are significant and it can be seen as signalling an era of intense activity and growth within the genre. Hall was a progressive writer and although she makes no radical break with the past, she can be considered an important milestone as a writer and author of illustrated books. Her work may be situated at a crossroads between the legacy of didacticism and an era that heralded modernist experimentation.

The next section highlights a fundamental constraint that deserves individual attention of its own due to its overall significance; Hall's ambivalent relationship towards Ireland. This permeated her writing as a whole and had a significant impact on her subsequent reputation.

Hall and the "Fearful Realities"[8] of the Irish Situation

Among Julian Moynahan's preliminary definitions of Anglo-Irish literature, is the following:

> Anglo-Irish literature is the writing produced by that ascendant minority in Ireland, largely but not entirely English in point of origin, that tended to be Protestant and overwhelmingly loyal to the English crown, and had its power and privileges secured by the English civil and military presence.[9]

This class lived and worshipped apart from the Irish and he described them as "a class of colonials living a collective dream." While they debated terms such as "toleration" and "relief" at the end of the eighteenth century, they were "too little conscious of being involved in Irish realities and the oppressive Irish situation."[10] The rude awakening for this privileged class came with the Act of Union in 1800 when according to Moynahan, and many other commentators,[11] a distinct Anglo-Irish literature emerged that took account of the reality of this group's relationship to England and to their fellow Irish. Hall, born in 1800 at this pivotal time, carried the legacy of the Ascendancy to a large degree in her writings and it was a fundamental constraint in that it ultimately led to her marginality within the Anglo-Irish canon.

As part of her overall didactic mission, Hall sought to raise the profile of Ireland positively, especially for an English audience. In this context, her Sketches of Irish Character and Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c proved commercially successful. Hall had an inherent sense of optimism that conditions were improving in Ireland and she hoped her writings would encourage visitors to come to Ireland to sample its many benefits, thus bringing about greater English understanding about Ireland and of course positive economic repercussions for the Irish themselves. In a number of her Stories of the Irish Peasantry as well as in her wider oeuvre, Hall over eulogised or romanticised her Irish settings. This was partly caused by her tendency to see the country through the rose-tinted spectacles of a contented childhood and a mythologising of a distant unspoilt culture. This nostalgia for an idyllic Eden was

a common feature of colonial writings, which ignored the reality of harsh living conditions for native peoples and tensions between coloniser and colonised.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the devastation wrought by the Great Irish Famine (1845-50) did awaken Hall to the "fearful realities" of Irish life. During their many exhaustive fact-finding trips around Ireland, especially leading up to the publication of Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c, the Halls witnessed the extent of despair and deprivation especially in rural Ireland. In a series of articles in The Art-Union from April-June 1847, Hall wrote passionately about the unfolding horror in Ireland:

> Those who will kindly permit me to remind them how earnestly I have laboured to make my country better known to England – before the dire famine that now afflicts Ireland, turning its valleys into graveyards – can believe how deeply the cry of misery, borne by every breeze that crosses the Channel, has entered into my heart.[12]

She was well aware that Irish corn and cattle were bound for English ports while charity steamers were making the return trip from England. In her articles and in the spirit of Maria Edgeworth a generation earlier, Hall wrote of the irresponsibility of "the reckless absentee in foreign courts where he trifles away existence"[13] when he should have been coordinating productive measures such as tilling the land, harnessing the rivers or exploring mines in pursuit of measures to support the Irish. She appealed to the readers of the journal to donate to famine relief efforts and rejected negative comments that blamed the Famine on the fecklessness of the Irish, opinions then prevalent in the British Press. She highlighted how, despite the dreadful famine, the Irish remained full of "the kindliest sympathies, the warmest affections, the most enduring fortitude – forbearing and honest to the death."[14] She emphasised, again to assure those who held negative attitudes towards the Irish, that crime, despite the wretched conditions, was virtually non-existent. Her articles in The Art-Union pleaded for donations and recounted cases of charitable work aimed at providing work and an income for peasants such as the Female Industrial

Society in Fermoy.[15] She concluded her series with a list of the donors – she collected £26 16s in total and a list of those who benefited from the donations.

When asked by colleagues experienced in charity work to write a story that would elicit sympathy and funds for the famine in Ireland she stated:

> My answer is, I can devise no fiction equal to the facts – the fearful realities of death and starvation which are conveyed to me by every post. Alas! The dismal reality far surpasses fiction: the terrible tale of Ugolino becomes insignificant in comparison with events occurring daily in Ireland; the tragedy of "The Grecian Daughter" has been acted more than once in an Irish cabin.[16]

Ironically, it was at this time during the Famine that Hall was working on Midsummer Eve, which was being serialised in the same issues of The Art-Union as these articles. Her fairytale was a world apart from the horrors of the Famine, an escapist fantasy depicting paradisiacal scenes of peace and plenty. So, while she was fully aware of Ireland's desperate situation, she seemed unable to fully confront the enormity of the crisis. The complexity of Hall's dependence on the Irish peasant yet her inability to react appropriately was an example of the hybrid[17] nature of her response to the "other." Homi Bhabha's suggestion that colonial identities were always a matter of flux and agony is especially relevant in her case:

> The colonial presence is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference.[18]

Hall depended on the peasants and their stories for her reputation as a writer and she delved into Irish folklore and myths as a store for further creative endeavours yet, she consistently displayed a sense of being a race apart. The Irish peasant in much of Hall's writings appeared complicit in his acceptance of his fate and his need for guidance from his betters and this hegemonic situation confirmed the cycle of dependence. Yet throughout her work, there is always the sense that Hall's real conflict was within her own relationship to her Irish identity.

The maternal authorial voice worked successfully in Hall's didactic children's books and indeed in many of her domestic English stories. Wayward tendencies could be changed through motherly persuasion and firm though kindly advice. However, her infantilisation of the Irish peasant and her sense that maturity could only be acquired with the help of Britain became increasingly unpopular with Irish readers as the century advanced. Hall's writings no longer seemed to connect with the realities of Irish life and her legacy as a writer suffered as a result. In post-Famine Ireland the reputation of the Anglo-Irish went into decline and her didactic approach was considered too old-fashioned for an Ireland now grappling with the question of Home Rule, independence and a version of cultural nationalism that had moved on substantially from a preoccupation with an antiquarian past.

Hall's Irish work has been the focus of much scholarly attention but this has been to the exclusion of her other work, especially her many children's books and domestic fiction. This dissertation, through its examination of this wider range of her writings, facilitates a greater understanding of how her didactic zeal was very much part of her overall ideological mindset. Her Irish works must therefore be seen as but one manifestation of a greater whole.

Caveats, Contributions and the Way Forward

Throughout the process of writing this dissertation, I continuously made choices about what to include and what to exclude in order to present a cohesive argument. The correspondences and linkages between the concepts of nationality, childhood and gender are fundamental to the thesis tested in this dissertation. However, it is clear from the discussion pathways covered in my necessarily succinct exploration of these linked concepts that each warrants further discussion: indeed, separate dissertations. The focus of the study did not allow for exhaustive elaboration on the historico-political background, the effects of the catastrophic Famine and ensuing emigration, all of which made Hall's lack of real engagement with these aspects all the more astonishing. Maureen Keane's literary biography of Hall had examined many of these areas in her discussion of Hall's Irish writings, in particularly her national novel The

Whiteboy, and I drew on standard works by Kelleher, Rafroidi, Sloan and others to provide an outline of such contexts.

Inevitably there are gaps in the available information; destroyed letters; books missing from library collections; inaccurate references; untraceable art works; and red herrings. There are potential ambiguities that arise when attempting to ascertain Hall's intentions and motives; the statements of friends and colleagues; and the unreliable accounts written by her husband. In bringing a twenty-first century perspective to Hall's work, I am aware of my own subjectivity and feminist sympathies and how they might colour or skew Hall's actual motives and intentions. As a nascent feminist, cocooned within the cloak of the "Proper Lady," Hall's literary texts cannot be read as transparent. Her use of ekphrastic writing and her engagement with strategic essentialism as a critical tool lends instability and ambiguity to the tone of her work. While aware of the existence of these constraints, they do not detract from the many innovative qualities of the dissertation.

This study of Hall's engagement with forms of visual and textual representation offered a fresh and nuanced assessment of her reputation. Until now, Hall had been studied primarily as a writer of Irish stories, a lesser figure situated beneath the shadow of Lady Morgan and Maria Edgeworth on the one side, and William Carleton on the other. While taking a realistic look at her literary achievements, the dissertation took an original approach to her work, taking into account the pivotal role that visual art played in her writing. My study of Hall's use of ekphrasis and my choice of mimesis as an overall framework has facilitated an approach to her work from a number of innovative vantage points. The resonance of mimesis as a concept was demonstrated through its multiple applications in my exploration of nationality, childhood and gender.

My research design has maximised on my own interdisciplinary strengths namely my art history background, my experience working with nineteenth-century children's books and my profession in a library and information environment. The dissertation's evaluation of her illustrated books reveals that Hall was at the heart of a flourishing artistic environment. British art was experiencing a dramatic resurgence, much of it thanks to S. C. Hall's efforts in

The Art-Union, and there was a vibrant audience and market for art. Hall's illustrated books linked the Georgian period with the heyday of Victorian book production in the 1860s and she was undoubtedly a significant figure during this era. Indeed the history of book illustration from the 1830s-70s could be charted through a survey of her publications alone. Book illustration is frequently a neglected topic in art-historical discourse and my aim in this study was to bring it centre-stage, to find a critical idiom with which to analyse how it operated in the work of an author who drew on many and varied formats. Many leading artists illustrated her books and this information has not been documented elsewhere. I have also made intriguing discoveries about art works that are no longer accessible in the public domain such as Frith's Mariana or Goodall's Fairy Struck. Hall's ekphrastic commentary on art and her desire to popularise art for its moral value anticipated the growth of art-historical rhetoric, particularly that of her colleague John Ruskin, later in the century. Above all, the extensive theoretical examination of the text-image dynamic provided a context and a template for the further study of illustrated books in the nineteenth century.

As a woman writer and a children's writer Hall's work has been marginalised and this dissertation highlighted the significant contribution she made to domestic fiction and children's literature. Her child readers were her first audience and she wrote for them throughout her entire life. She edited annuals, gift books and anthologies for them, selected the best writers and artists, always with an eye to ensuring high quality production values for this important audience. This study is the first of its kind to discuss her children's books as a category and to analyse the range of domestic and fantasy genres she explored. The Chambers' archive yielded previously undocumented information about print runs, profits, author earnings and book bindings for her four titles in Chambers's Library for Young People. Her writings for children were assessed in the light of the didactic tradition and set in the context of her evangelical beliefs.

My knowledge of library and information technologies has informed my growing interest in developments within the area of Digital Humanities. The potential to explore other areas of digital investigation through the use of

visualisations, metadata and controlled vocabularies, geospatial theory and digital image curation are recognised but will be explored further with the expansion and development of the website. These interdisciplinary fields outlined above, highlight the potential for multiple and diverse readerships in addition to those from the assumed historico-literary-critical disciplines.

There are many exciting areas of scholarship that open up as a result of aspects of this dissertation. The detailed study of the text-image dynamic at a key historical period from 1830-50 provides a template within which to analyse other illustrated books of this period. A comparative study within this previously neglected area would be productive in an Irish context. For example, many of the artists who worked on Hall's publications were also employed in later editions of William Carleton's and Samuel Lover's work. Parallels between Thackeray's own illustrations to The Irish Sketch Book versus Halls' Ireland could be analysed. The names of many Irish artists who worked in book illustration in this period are not widely known and quite a number of them have not been documented to date. On the other hand, notable artists such as Daniel Maclise and Hablot Browne contributed drawings to Hall's works that have not been reproduced elsewhere and in Browne's case they have not been documented in the standard *catalogue raisonnée* of his work.[19] In their Guide to Irish Fiction, the Loebers highlighted the necessity for detailed scholarly studies of Irish illustrated books.

> Since illustrations and book covers influenced book purchasing and communicated to readers many aspects of Irish life, they remain a fertile field for further study.[20]

When I add further entries to Hall's website, it will be possible to extend the scholarship of Irish visual culture through an assessment of the work of the individual artists, with their book illustrations conveniently grouped together.

The study of the Chambers' archive provided many revelations about Hall's working methods, her financial concerns and of course the ethos of one dynamic and successful publisher. The potential for further studies of this kind is immense. Apart from comparative analyses with holdings in the archives of other major publishers, the study of nineteenth century co-publications of Irish

authors in America has not received much critical attention to date. Hall's publications swiftly became available in America but further study could yield the extent of this trade.

With regard to Hall's entire oeuvre, there are many other avenues that indicate rewarding areas for future scholarship. Her plays have been briefly mentioned in this dissertation but not studied in any great detail in sources located to date.[21] Women authors appeared to enjoy success in this arena during the early Victorian period. Apart from her three main plays, some of which enjoyed long and successful runs, there is evidence to suggest that she adapted some of her novels such as Tales of Women's Trials, The Whiteboy and The Whisperer with performances not only in England but also in America. In the same manner, Hall's historical novels deserve further study, as does her travel literature in general. She was a busy philanthropist and her temperance tales alone provide a snapshot of this kind of literature, which, in an Irish context would make a revealing study. With regard to Hall's correspondence, there is scope to produce a publication of her collected letters. There are sufficient numbers extant in collections worldwide to make such a study worthwhile. Her circle of friends included many leading authors and writers of her period and the extent of letters to Hall from many of her colleagues is not yet fully known. Such a collection would comprise a significant historical resource.

When I embarked on this study of Hall's work three years ago, very few of her works were digitised and freely available online. In the intervening years, the growth has been exponential. Combined with my proposed website as a prototype to explore illustration in an Irish context, the future of Hall scholarship is promising.

Notes

[1] Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 17 [1]. See Appendix G.

[2] S. C. Hall shared a 'cottage' with John Banim and Gerald Griffin in London in 1823 prior to his marriage to Hall. These friendships may have influenced the direction she took with her early literary career. There are entries for John Banim, Gerald Griffin and William Carleton in his "memories." S. C. Hall, A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age from Personal Acquaintance (London: J. S. Virtue, n. d.) 227, 229, 237.

[3] S. C. Hall, Retrospect vol. 1 331.

[4] Buchanan-Brown, Early Victorian Illustrated Books 118-119.

[5] Mrs S. C. Hall, preface, The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (London: N. Hailes, 1829) iv.

[6] Mrs S. C. Hall, preface, The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1831) [iii].

[7] Maria Nikolajeva, Children's Literature Comes of Age: Towards a New Aesthetic (New York: Garland, 1996) 61-94.

[8] The Art-Union Apr. (1847):141. Included in Hall's quote on page 396 of this conclusion.

[9] Julian Moynahan, Anglo-Irish: The Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995) 4.

[10] Moynahan 5.

[11] Sources include: Hayley, Carleton's Traits and Stories and the Nineteenth Century Anglo-Irish Tradition; Ingman, a History of the Irish Short Story; Kiberd, Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation; Rafroidi, Irish Literature in English: The Romantic Period; and Sloan, The Pioneers of Anglo-Irish Fiction 1800-1850.

[12] Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Cry from Ireland," The Art-Union Apr. (1847): 141.

[13] The Art-Union Apr. (1847): 141.

[14] The Art-Union Apr. (1847): 141

[15] The Art-Union June (1847): 221. They produced thread stockings and needed purchasers for their fine work which was "quite equal to the "Lisle," and at half the price."

[16] The Art-Union Apr. (1847):141.

[17] Homi Bhabha, "Signs taken for wonders: Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817," Critical Inquiry 12.1 (1985): 150. Also Bhabha's The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994) 38, 112-16, 207-09.

[18] Bhabha (1985): 150.

[19] John Buchanan-Brown, Phiz! The Book Illustrations of Hablot Knight Browne (London: Newton Abbot, 1978).

[20] Loeber, Guide xciv.

[21] H. Philip Bolton, Women Writers Dramatised: A Calendar of Performances from Narrative Works in English to 1900 (London: Mansell, 2000) 211-214.

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Sale Catalogues

A Catalogue of the Collection of English Pictures and Watercolour Drawings, the property of S.C. Hall, Esq. FSA. London: Messrs Foster and Son, Monday 23rd April 1855.

A Catalogue of the pictures and drawings, mostly had from the artists. Decorative furniture, ornamental china, plated articles & c. of the late S. C. Hall Esq. Formerly Editor of the Art Journal. London: Messrs. Foster at the Gallery, 54, Pall Mall on Thursday, the 2nd day of May, 1889.

Appendix A
Selection of Portraits of Anna Maria Hall

Fig. A1 Henry MacManus. (c.1830)

Fig. A2 Daniel Maclise (1833)

Fig. A3 Daniel Maclise (c.1836)

Fig. A4 Charles E. Wagstaff,
after John Hayter (1838)

Appendix A

Fig. A5 G. de Latre (1851)

Fig. A6 John & Charles Watkins (1861)

Fig. A7John & Charles Watkins (late 1860s)

Fig. A8 Elliott & Fry (c. 1875)

Appendix B
Select List of Artists Who Illustrated Many of Hall's Works Cited in Dissertation

Artist	Dates	Scenes and Blessings (1875)	Can Wrong Be Right (1881-82)	Chronicles of a Cosy Nook (1875)	Ireland I (1841)	Ireland II (1842)	Ireland III (1843)	Juvenile Budget (1840)	Little Chatterbox and Number One (1844)	Midsummer Eve (1848)	Molly Rawdon (1865)	Prince of the Fair Family (1867)	Sketches of Irish Character (1844)	Tales Irish Life & Character 1969	Tales Women's Trials (1847)
Allan, Walter J.	fl. 1869-81	2										9			
Absolon, John	1815-1895								8						
Abrahams, V.	fl. 1840s				1										
Bell, John	1811-1895				1		1								
Bentley, Sir John Frances	1839-1902					1									
Bolton, C. N.	fl. 1840s				2	1									
Boughton, George	1833-1905	1													
Brierly, Sir Oswald Walters	1817-1894				1										
Brooke, William Henry	1772-1862												10		
Browne, William Hablot (Phiz)	1815-1882		7					6							
Burgess, John Bagnold	1829-1897				3	25									
Chatterton, Lady Henrietta	1806-1876					1									
Cherel, Jules	1836-1932											3			
Chevalier, Nicolas	1828-1902	1													
Coleman, William Stephen	1829-1904														
Connell, John Minton	fl.1830-32				1										
Corbould, Edward Henry	1815-1905														1
Creswick, Thomas	1811-1869				16	14	10			1					
Croker, Thomas Crofton	1798-1854				17		1								
Crowley, Nicholas Joseph	1813-1857												1		
Cruikshank, George	1792-1878												1		
Deane, Lady	fl. 1840s				2										
Egan, J.	fl. 1840s				2	20									
Elmore, Alfred	1815-1881									1					
Evans, William	1798-1877				4	20							2		
Fairholt, Frederick William	1814-1866						34			5					
Franklin, John	fl. 1830-58				3	1	9			10			10		2
Frost, William Edward	1810-1877									1					
Gastineau, Henry G.	1791-1876					4	6								
Gilbert, John	1817-1897												4		1
Goodall, Frederick	1822-1904									12					
Hamilton, Charles C.	fl. 1831-67					1	1								
Hardy, Frederick Daniel	1827-1911	2													
Harvey, William	1796-1866				4	3	6						6		
Herbert, John Rogers	1810-1890				1								2		
Hill, Henry	fl. 1840s				7										
Hulme, Frederick William	1816-1884									46					3
Humphries, J.	fl. 1840s				1										
Huskisson, Robert	1820-1861									10					
Kennedy, Edward Sherard	1837-1900	1													
Landseer, Sir Edwin Henry	1802-1873														
Landseer, Thomas	1793/4-1880									3					
Lawson, E. W.	1842-1935			8											
Lecurieux, J.	fl. 1840s									1					

Artist	Dates	Boons and Blessings (1875)	Can Wrong Be Right (1861-62)	Chronicles of a Cosy Nook (1875)	Ireland I (1841)	Ireland II (1842)	Ireland III (1843)	Juvenile Budget (1840)	Little Chatterbox and Number One (1844)	Eve (1848)	Nelly Newton (1865)	Prince of the Fair Family (1867)	Sketches of Irish Character (1844)	Tales Irish Life & Character 1969	Tales Women's Trials (1847)
Lynn, John	fl. 1826-38					3									
Maclise, Daniel	1806-1870				2					1			6		
MacManus, Henry	1810-76				2	9	4						2		
Mclan, Fanny	1814-1897												1		
Mclan, Robert Ronald	1803-1856												1		1
Meadows, Joseph Kenny	1790-1874									29		27			
Morris, Philip Richard	1833-1902	1													
Mulcahy, Jeremiah Hodges	1804-1889				6										
Newman, E.	fl. 1840s				1										
Nicol, Erskine	1825-1904	1												16	
Nicholl, Andrew	1804-1886				21	51	42						4		
Noblett, Henry John	fl. 1840s				3										
Noyer, George Victor Du	1817-1869					20									
O'Brien, J.	fl. 1840s				1	-									
O'Neill, Henry	1798-1880					3							1		
Parris, Edmund Thomas	1793-1873					2									
Paton, Joseph Noel	1821-1902									39		1			4
Prout, John Skinner	1805-1876				2	4									
Robertson, H. R.	fl. 1870s	1													
Sargent, G. F.	fl. 1840-60				6	22	20						1		
Selous, Henry Courtney	1803-1890														1
Sly, B.	fl. 1840s						3								
Small, William	1843-1929										5				
Stanfield, Clarkson	1793-1867									1					
Thorburn, R.	fl. 1870s	1													
Timbrell, James Christopher	1810-1850				7	1	1						6		
Tongue, Richard D.	1795-1873				5	1									
Topham, Francis William	1808-1877									3					1
Townsend, H. J.	fl. 1840s					1							2		
Wakeman, William Frederick	1822-1900					8	4								
Ward, Edward Matthew	1816-1879	1								2		1			1
Ward, Henrietta	1832-1924	1										1			
Wehnert, Edward Henry	1813-1868									1					
Weigall, Charles Henry	1794-1877				7		1						3		
Weir, Harrison	1824-1906									8					1
West, S.	fl. 1840s												2		
Wiles, W.	fl. 1840s				20		1								
Windels, John	1801-1865	1			8										
Woolmer, Alfred Joseph	1805-1892	1													

Appendix C
Select List of Hall's Ekphrastic Writings

... the gypsy had sprung on to the lawn; his rich, brown skin shone through the rents of his tattered garments, and his wild, dark eyes glittered amid the tangled hair that *thatched* his head in masses of thick black curls. He would have been invaluable as an artist's model, and all who saw the picture would certainly exclaim, 'What a beautiful Spanish boy!'
Mrs S. C. Hall, "William and his Teacher," The Little Peacemaker and Other Stories, ed. Mary Howitt (London: Cassell & Company, n.d.) 88.

I wish some of our artists had noted poor Susan Ray and her baskets by the wayside; she would have made a pretty picture.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "A Scene," The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (London: Ackermann, 1836) 9.

Over the low, white marble chimney-piece hung that exquisite print of the Trial of Lord William Russell – it is the picture, of all others, for a lady's chamber. What woman can think of the womanly devotion and heroism of Lady Rachel, without being better for the thought? There was a splendid engraving of Scott, another of Wordsworth, Newton's ever-living Vicar of Wakefield; a few drawings selected evidently more by feeling than judgement, - the *science* had not been cultivated in proportion to the selector's *love* of the beautiful art. In one corner supported on a pedestal of black marble, and canopied by a drapery of black velvet, was an exquisite model of Canova's Melancholy Magdalen.
Mrs S. C. Hall, Uncle Horace vol. 1(Philadelphia: E. L. Carey, 1838) 19.

... and we hastened our footsteps to what we had called the 'Sketching Point,' for the worthy man took all his sea views from one spot – what would Stanfield say to that?
Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Old Drawing Master," The Art-Union July (1839): 98.

... her black silk mittens were drawn up so as to meet the deep point lace ruffles, which certainly tempt one to 'covet and desire;' the little foot was

encased in a high-heeled shoe; the apron was of Indian muslin, flounced with embroidery; a white folded kerchief showed 'pigeon craw fashion' beneath the distinct folds of a black mode cloak, garnished with *such* lace! - but the head – it was as fine a study as an artist could desire of the antique:
Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Two Pictures," The Art-Union Oct. (1839): 147.

Once, - it was at Macroom, of which we have particularly spoken – among a group we noted a fair-haired girl. She might have been the study from which Mr Harvey copied this picture; and let no one think it idealised. We have seen many such, along every road we travelled. Perfect in form as a Grecian statue, and graceful as a young fawn. The hood of her cloak shrouded each side of her face; and the folds draped her slender figure as if the nicest art had been exerted in aid of nature.
Mr and Mrs S. C. Hall, Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c., vol. 1 (London: Jeremiah How, 1841) 8.

Perhaps no country of the world is so rich in materials for the PAINTER; nowhere can he find more admirable subjects for his pencil, whether he studies the immense varieties of nature, or human character as infinitely varied. The artist by whom this district has not been visited, can indeed have no idea of its surpassing grandeur and sublimity; - go where he will, he finds a picture: the lines of the mountains, covered with heather; the rocks, of innumerable shapes; the 'passes,' rugged, but grand to a degree; the finest rivers, always rapid – salmon-leaps upon almost every one of them; the broadest and richest lakes, full of small islands, and at times clothed with luxuriant foliage along their sides: in fact, Nature nowhere presents such abundant and such extraordinary stories of wealth to the painter – and even now it has been very little resorted to. Add to this, that every peasant the artist will encounter, furnishes a striking and picturesque sketch; and as they are usually met in groups, scarcely one will be without this valuable accessory to the landscape.
Mr and Mrs S. C. Hall, Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c., vol. 3 (London: Jeremiah How, 1843) 392-393.

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To shame I mean – did you never see a holy picture about a prodigal's return? Why, Mrs. Ryan, the print of it is hanging against yer own wall, the father houlding out his arms, and the calf – red and white, and fat – standing ready for killing; and yet ye see the craythur dying upon these stones, and don't lift her up!
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Mary Ryan's Daughter," Sketches of Irish Character (London: M. A. Nattali, 1844) 40.

'There's himself,' muttered Kate. We stopped – and I shall never forget the appalled look of O'Brien, when my father put his head out of the window – (Cruikshank should have seen it).
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Kate Connor," Sketches of Irish Character (London: M. A. Nattali, 1844)181.

How frequently, in a crowded picture-gallery, do we pass, almost without notice, some exquisite gem of art, that, singly, in an unadorned chamber, we should gaze upon with rapture! Woman, to be loved, and valued as she deserves, must be seen and known in solitude – I had almost added, in sorrow. The lily's fragrance is of more value when it blossoms and sheds its perfume in the wilderness, than when only one amid a multitude of flowers.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Mabel O'Neil's Curse," Sketches of Irish Character (London: M. A. Nattali, 1844) 291.

...a tall woman, enveloped in a long blue cloak, entered; ... want and misery had obliterated its beauty, and given an almost maniac expression to eyes both dark and deep; the hair was partly confined by a checked kerchief; and the outline of the figure would have been worthy the pencil of Salvator.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Black Dennis," Sketches of Irish Character (London: M.A. Nattali, 1844) 347.

... if Murillo ever painted a fair boy, it would be such a boy as that; rags and all he looked exceedingly handsome; his cheeks glowed through the dirt, and his eyes grew dark in their brightness as such deep set grey eyes always do.

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Mrs S. C. Hall, "Pen and Ink Sketches III. Please to Remember the Grotto," The Art-Union June (1846): 145.

The fine sea scenery is beheld to great advantage from the mountain I have mentioned – that dark rocky mountain, behind whose crags, and in whose crevices, shelter scores of hardy mountaineers; fine specimens of the animal creation, but rather fond of having their own way, and not inclined to render obedience to any code of laws that would at all interfere with their 'own sweet will.' Still they are brave, honest, and hospitable, and look quite as picturesque, to my fancy, on that noble mountain as brigands on the finest Italian crags that were ever painted.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Landlord at Home," Stories of the Irish Peasantry (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1850) 82.

... they were indolent as the Neapolitan lazzaroni and quite as picturesque;
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Sure it was Always so," Stories of the Irish Peasantry (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1850) 102.

... his gay-coloured silk neckerchief was tied so loosely round his throat, that if it were possible he had ever seen a picture of Byron, folk would have said he was imitating the lordly poet;
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Reddy Ryland," Stories of the Irish Peasantry (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1850) 161.

He had put away a portrait, painted by Lawrence in the dawn of his early fame, during the first year of Mrs Middleton's wedded life.
Mrs S. C. Hall, A Woman's Story vol. 1 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857) 213.

Oh for a Wilkie to paint the serio-comic effect of that little minute! – the look of abashed villainy – the glorious feeling that suffused the honest farmer's countenance – the uplifted hands and ejaculations of Mrs Leslie – the joyous face of Annie, glistening all over with smiles and tears – the hearty, honest shout of the villagers – and even the merry bark of little Phillis.

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Mrs S. C. Hall, "Annie Leslie," Annie Leslie and Other Stories (London: T. Nelson, [1877]) 47.

... but my prime minister, my prince of favourites, was a noble Newfoundland dog, by name Neptune, whom I have often spoken of, and can never forget; he was the chief of all – my friend and companion – a large shaggy fellow, who deserved the immortality of Landseer's pencil.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Playfellow," Annie Leslie and Other Stories (London: T. Nelson, [1877]) 52-53.

I wonder what Turner would make of the village of Passage in one of his foregrounds. Would it be possible to idealise it?
(Hall commented on the abundance of free roaming pigs 'roaming from dwelling to dwelling in unrestrained freedom and loquacity.')
Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Jaunting Car," Tales of Irish Life and Character (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1909) 10.

I wish M'Clise, who has already immortalised his name, while immortalising the humours of his countrymen, had seen our good friend Byrne while pleading the merits of his horse. It was that strange mingling of the ludicrous and the pathetic which brings tears to the eyes while the smile is on the lip.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Jaunting Car," Tales of Irish Life and Character (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1909) 24.

Appendix D
Sale Catalogue 2 May 1889.

Select items from the sale catalogue are listed below, including lots from watercolour drawings, paintings, engravings and several ornaments of Irish interest from the dining room. The sale catalogue in the National Art Library in the Victoria and Albert Museum is annotated in pen with prices from the sale. The total realised in the sale, according to the annotations was £457 19s.

A Catalogue of the pictures and drawings, mostly had from the artists. Decorative furniture, ornamental china, plated articles & c. of the late S.C. Hall Esq. Formerly Editor of the Art Journal. The Whole removed from 24, Stanford Road, Kensington which will be sold by auction by direction of the executors by Messrs. Foster at the Gallery, 54, Pall Mall on Thursday, the 2nd day of May, 1889 at one o'clock precisely.

Watercolour Drawings

Lot 82	Stodart	Queen Catherine's Dream
Lot 83	Penry	The Vine Bower
Lot 84	T. Uwins	Temptation. Engr. In Book of Gems
Lot 85	D. Maclise	Port of the artist in 1829 with round robin to J. O'Driscoll Esq.
Lot 86	E. M. Ward	Book Illustration of the Fair Family. Pencil – a Present from the artist.
Lot 87	E. W. Cooke	Venice – a present from the artist
Lot 88	M. D. Mutri	Moss Roses, 1876
Lot 89	John Martin	Cumberland River Scene
Lot 90	Hy. Tidey	A Greek Beauty – a present from the artist.
Lot 91	D. Cox	Windsor – sepia
Lot 92	E. Jeffries	A pair – view of Topsham
Lot 93	W. S. Morrish	A Devonshire Stream. Gold Medal at Crystal Palace1873.
Lot 94	R. Huskisson	One of the illustrations in Midsummer Eve

		by Mrs Hall.
Lot 95	D. Maclise	The Woodcutter's Dream. One of the illustrations in Midsummer Eve by Mrs Hall.
Lot 96	F. Goodall	A rolling scene(?) in the Gap of Dunloe. A present from the artist.
Lot 97	A. Elmore	Lady Stacy – an illustration to one of Mrs Hall's works.
Lot 98	Unknown	Hush he sleeps after J.H. Mann
Lot 99	Unknown	Seven – a landscape, 2 pencil drawings of Statuary and 4 lithographs.
Lot 100	M. Chevalier	Three – Mountain scenery and 2 cupids
Lot 101	C. H. Cox	Vessels off the Coast
Lot 102	E. Jeffrey	Study from Nature.
Lot 103	N. Chevalier	Portrait of Livingstone
Lot 104	P. R. Morris	Isaac Watts with medallions representing his popular hymns.
Lot 105	F. G. Widgery	Exeter Cathedral

Pictures

Lot 106	N. Chevalier	Egyptian W Carrior (?)
Lot 107	Johnes	Pair Landscapes
Lot 108	P. R. Morris	Shepherd at the Cross
Lot 109	Unknown	Four – 2 Landscapes
Lot 110	Unknown	Rest on the Hill after Mulready
Lot 111	Cropsey	Autumn on the Hudson – present from the artist
Lot 112	Watts	The Mill
Lot 113	Farrier	Boy and Butterfly
Lot 114	Lionel Cowan	Blind Beggar. Presented by the artist
Lot 115	W. Gilliard	The Gleaner
Lot 116	J. C. Thom(n)	Boys Fishing

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Lot 117	Sir. T. Laurence	Female Study. Panel sketch.
Lot 118	A. H. Davis	Borrowdale Yews, Cumberland
Lot 119	E. M. Ward	Sketch for the last sleep of Argyll
Lot 120	S. Pether	Lake Scene, Moonlight. Presented by artist.
Lot 121	A. H. Vickers	Landscape with cottages and river
Lot 122	Louse	Children Playing
Lot 123	A. Vertumni	Italian Landscape
Lot 124	E. M. Ward	Contemplation. Painted for the late Mr S. C. Hall.
Lot 125	A. Yvon	Children and tortoise. Presented by the artist.
Lot 126	E. M. Ward	Figure sketch for a larger picture.
Lot 127	Pickersgill R.A.	Figure sketch
Lot 128	Thos. H. Hughes	The Morning Toilet
Lot 129	James A. O'Connor	Irish Scenery, panel
Lot 130	T. Williamson	Marine view
Lot 131	H. Nisbet	The Bass Rock Sketch
Lot 132	F. Nash	Brighton
Lot 133	P. R. Morris	The Reaper, gift from the artist
Lot 134	Wm. Hilton	The Plague, sketch for a picture.
Lot 135	W. Boxall	Amy Robsart and Janet
Lot 136	Miss Elmore	An old water mill
Lot 137	Jeffries	Devonshire River Scene
Lot 138	Williams	Bird's Nest and May Blossom
Lot 139	Williamson	Vessels at Sea
Lot 140	A. H. Davis	Two – Sheep reposing
Lot 141	Early Italian School	St. Martin dividing his cloak
Lot 142	A. Toornvliet	Scene

Engravings

Lot 143	Portrait of Tom Moore, a photo and 5 others
Lot 144	The Naughty Boy, proof, after Landseer
Lot 145	Highland Bothie, proof after J.L. Lewis. Sir Robt. Peel and another

Lady J. Gray after Leslie.

Lot 146 Taming of the Shrew, after Maclise, and another by Stacpoole, proofs.

Lot 147 A pair Dante and Tazzo, proofs.

Lot 148 Two King Charles I and other after Newton proofs

Lot 149 Three chromos after Birket Foster

Lot 150 The Cross of Prayer, plaster after John Bell.

Ornaments continued from Dining room

Lot 195 A pair of 3ft 3inches statuettes – Burke & Goldsmith, presented by Foley and 2 therm(?) pedestals (£7 Pollard)

Lot 204 Statuette Winter by J.H. Foley (£1 Gisling)

Appendix E
Select References to Children's Books Read by Hall as a Child or Referenced in her Stories.

Her grandfather taught her Latin and the priests of the Parish instructed her in Italian – of what are usually called children's books she never possessed any but could repeat almost by heart the histories of Hume, Rollin and many of the Ancient Chronicles – her light reading varied from the Arabian Knights (sic) – to the History of the Robber Freney with old volumes of Irish history and now and then a romance of the Ratcliffe schools – Shakespeare she loved, Milton she revered but there was one book that morning and evening was perused which laid the foundation of her conduct and future prosperity. Her grandmother saw that her romantic and rambling mind needed a powerful corrective.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "The Curse of Property: A Sketch of Irish Mismanagement," [c. 1830] Ms 34,260, National Library of Ireland, 23.

Books – what pleasure do they not impart! ... Rebecca, the sage, the wise young woman of the family, pondering over 'The Foreign Review,' or the last 'Quarterly,' or the sound yet laughing 'Blackwood,' or my especial favourite, 'The British Magazine;' ... [arrival of] a London parcel of books ... A parcel containing the best of Colburn's publications, for those seniors of the party who ought to know how the proceedings of the literary world are conducted; books from Westley and Davis, fit for the Sabbath and the serious; and such charming, pretty-looking things from Hailes and Harris, as make even Emily forget her doll. A heap of delightful annuals for those who love pretty pictures and rational amusement! How much we are indebted to them during the winter evenings, when out of doors the snow is deep and the wind piercing!
Mrs S. C. Hall, Chronicles of a School Room (Boston: Cottons and Barnard, 1830) 202-204.

Mrs Erris assured her that she did not 'spoil' him and in proof thereof, asserted that he could repeat a great number of Watts' hymns. 'Watts' hymns!' answered Mrs Diggons with an irreverent sneer at the purest child-poetry in any language,

living or dead; 'such a creature as that should be able to repeat orations from Shakspeare and Milton.' 'In time,' said Mrs Erris, making a secret resolve that he should do so immediately, and beginning to think that she had really neglected his education.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Cleverness," Chambers's Edinburgh Journal May (1843): 137-138.

Daddy Denny greatly encouraged this love of learning. He brought her a slate from Wexford, and books from both Arklow and Waterford – one being the 'Seven Champions,' and the other 'Cinderella.' 'Learning,' he would tell her, 'is better than house and land, they say; but I'm sure it's better with the house and land than without it.'
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Mary Ryan's Daughter," Sketches of Irish Character (London: M. A. Nattali, 1844) 47.

If you had seen his well-stored counters and shelves, and the extraordinary crowd that assembled in his shop, you would have felt certain that everything was to be had within ... books – namely the 'Reading made Easy,' 'Life of Freney,' and his many wonderful escapes, showing how, after his being a most famous Robber, he lived and died a good Catholic Christian in the beautiful and celebrated town of Ross, in the ancient county of Wexford, 'Valentine and Orson,' 'Seven Champions of Christendom,' and such like – which books, by the way, turn the heads of half our little girls and boys.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Independence," Sketches of Irish Character (London: M. A. Nattali, 1844) 339.

When I was very young, as a repose from hard study I was given 'The Seven Champions,' 'Beauty and the Beast,' and 'Cinderella,' as the staple enjoyments of the nursery. The 'Cinderella' of those days was done up in calfskin and clothed in a green petticoat, while her hair was blue and her bodice yellow; her reign was short with me, for fairy tales all of a sudden were considered foolish, if not injurious; and when somewhat older I had no reason to complain of the change from 'Beauty and the Beast' to Maria Edgeworth's 'Early Lessons' and

Appendix E

Mrs. Hofland's 'Son of a Genius.' This mingling of the real with the ideal is, I think, highly beneficial; but some years ago an opinion prevailed that fiction of any kind was not only deleterious but actually sinful; and a succession of books became popular which were in fact dry sermons in disguise.
Mrs S. C. Hall, "Thoughts on Juvenile Illustrated Literature," The Art-Union Apr. (1846): 111.

I know a great many poor who are very happy ... it does not much matter, I think, if we lived in a great farm like this or in a little tiny cottage covered with roses, where dear uncle could sit on a grass bench by the door all day long, and you and I could read him the Bible, and sing him Watt's Hymns ... I don't see the harm or the sorrow of poverty, if we were all together.
Mrs S. C. Hall, The Swan's Egg (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1851) 32.

Marian went up-stairs and brought down her hoard – a heap of ignorant story-books, selected *by herself* during her walks with Kitty or Ma'mselle; two volumes of Shakspeare's (sic) Plays; 'Elegant Extracts;' the 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments;' a Bible and Prayerbook; Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' – these last being gifts from Mr. Jones... Miss Kitty then marked down and placed aside a heap of Pinnock's Catechisms, Goldsmith's brief, imperfect, and mangled Geography, and Magnell's Questions, and a pile of necessary and unnecessary books – necessary, as regarded making out the bill – unnecessary, as far as the education of a child of nine years old was concerned.
Mrs S. C. Hall, Marian: or, A Young Maid's Fortunes vol. 1(Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1877) 141-142.

She has told me that she first heard Shakespeare's plays when sitting under the table among the dogs, an attentive auditor of whom the reader was quite oblivious! But sometimes the reading was of a severer cast, and she was very glad when the 'Book of Martyrs' was exchanged for family 'trios' and 'catches.'... During those waiting years she gave me a great deal of advice about reading, and I often think that some of her counsels, old-fashioned and

desultory as they may seem to many, might well lead to a wider and gentler culture than the study of condensed 'primers,' and the 'courses,' and 'special subjects' of more modish ways. Among the books she recommended for careful perusal were 'The Spectator,' 'The Rambler,' 'The Idler,' the Waverley novels, Rollin's History, Herodotus, Spenser, Pope, and all those poets whom she described as 'granite' poets, i.e., those dealing with the facts of nature and human life, rather than with sentiment or metaphysic.
Isabella Fyvie Mayo, "A Recollection of Two Old Friends: Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall," The Leisure Hour May (1889): 303-305.

She never forgot a line of Shakespeare. Sometimes she was permitted to sit up until ten o'clock, to hear her grandpapa read a portion of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, or of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Sir Walter Scott's poems, which at that time were quite the fashion, and greatly admired; and he was always pleased with Annie's request to be allowed to learn a portion of them by heart against next reading night.
Mrs S. C. Hall, Grandmamma's Pockets (London: W. & R. Chambers, c. 1899) 31.

She began reading – perhaps for the twentieth time – Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*; breathing on the leaves, that they might turn without crackling, and pausing every now and then to contrast some of its passages with the *Faery Queen*; and when it grew so dim of light that she could not see, she started at the hooting of the owl she had heard from infancy, and fancied the shadows of the copper beech, as they lay upon the snow, men in armour, and the poplar trees to be Knights Templar; and one in particular Goliah himself.
Mrs S. C. Hall, Grandmamma's Pockets (London: W. & R. Chambers, c. 1899) 108.

Appendix F
Letter from Charles Dickens to Mrs S. C. Hall, 29 December 1838.

(Clark, Cumberland. Charles Dickens and the Yorkshire Schools with his letter to Mrs Hall. London: Chiswick Press, 1918.)

To Mrs S. C. Hall
Doughty Street, 29 December 1838.

My dear Mrs. Hall
I am exceedingly obliged to you for your kind note, and the interesting anecdote which you tell so well. I have laid it by in the MS of the first number of Nickleby, and shall keep it there in confirmation of the truth of my little picture.

Depend upon it that the rascalities of those Yorkshire schoolmasters *cannot* easily be exaggerated, and that I have kept down the strong truth and thrown as much comicality over it as I could, rather than disgust and weary the reader with its fouler aspects. The identical scoundrel you speak of, I saw – curiously enough. His name is Shaw; the action was tried (I believe) eight or ten years since, and if I am not much mistaken another action was brought against him by the parents of a miserable child, a cancer in whose head he opened with an inky penknife, and so caused his death. The country for miles round was covered, when I was there, with deep snow. There is an old Church near the school, and the first grave-stone I stumbled on that dreary winter afternoon was placed above the grave of a boy, eighteen long years old, who had died – suddenly, the inscription said; I suppose his heart broke – the Camel falls down "suddenly" when they heap the last load upon his back – died at that wretched place. I think his ghost put Smike into my head, upon the spot.
I went down in an assumed name, taking a plausible letter to an old Yorkshire attorney from another attorney in town, telling him how a friend had been left a widow, and wanted to place her boys at a Yorkshire school in hopes of thawing the frozen compassion of her relations. The man of business gave an introduction to one or two schools, but at night he came down to the Inn where I was stopping, and after much hesitation and confusion – he was a large-headed flat-nosed red-faced old fellow – said with a degree of feeling one would

not have given him credit for, that the matter had been upon his mind all day – that they were sad places for mothers to send their orphan boys to – that he hoped I would not give him up as my adviser – but that she had better do anything with them – let them hold horses, run errands – fling them in any way upon the mercy of the World – rather than trust them there. This was an attorney, a well-fed man of business, and a rough Yorkshireman!

Mrs. Dickens and myself will be delighted to see the friend you speak of – we unite in regards to yourself and Mrs. Hall – and I throw myself single-handed upon your good nature, and beseech you to forgive me this long story – which you ought to do, as you have been the means of drawing it from me. Believe me,

Dear Mrs. Hall.
Very faithfully yours
Charles Dickens

Appendix G
Hall's Letter (undated) Providing the Background to her Stories of the Irish Peasantry

Dep 341/121 Business and/or editorial letters addressed to Chambers. Arranged alphabetically by sender. H-O 1839-1890. Letter 17 [1]. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

To the Editor of

Sir

During a recent, and somewhat prolonged visit to Ireland it was suggested to me by several wealthy and influential persons, that I might render service to my country by publishing a Series of Stories, addressed more especially to the Humbler Classes; designed to correct certain faults in the Irish Character, which because of their universality, may be almost termed "National," and that my object would be essentially advanced by adopting some channel of communication with them to which they might have easy access.

I have acted upon this advice: and in the columns of "Chambers's Edinburgh Journal," a work in the highest repute as at once cheap and good, I humbly but earnestly hope I may succeed in my desire, first to interest and next to benefit my fellow countrymen and countrywomen. I shall, indeed, heartily rejoice if I am permitted to contribute even a little to their social and moral improvement. The task I do not consider a difficult one, or unpromising of success; since, assuredly no people are so easily biased either for good or evil; and, although rarely disposed to learn from their opponents they are ever ready to listen to a friend.

My design is to exhibit and illustrate, in each Story, some peculiarity in the Irish Character, which may be treated as the root of much evil; habits, not in themselves vicious which commonly lead to vice; prejudices, from which nothing but injurious results can be expected; or ideas and pursuits which are not considered dishonourable or dangerous but which are unquestionably both. It will also be my study to show the brighter as well as the darker side of the

picture; and to delineate those virtues which are, to say the least, as prominent and as distinguishing parts of Irish nature.

It may not, however, be assumed that my Stories will be exclusively calculated for the Irish peasant; my aim will be to render them interesting to a higher Grade of Society; and at the same time to create a more intimate and more kindly acquaintance between the people of Ireland and that of England and Scotland.

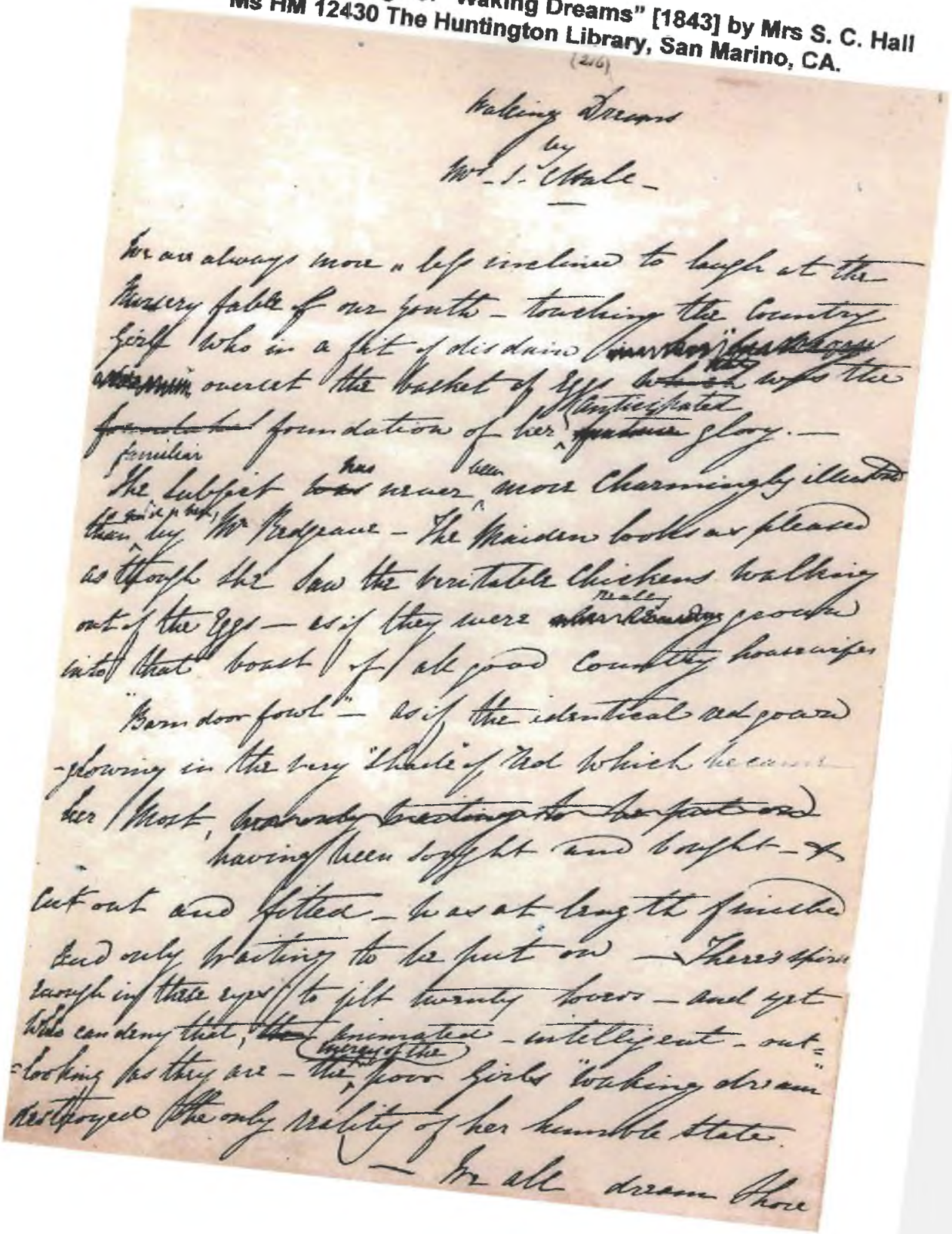
It is clear that without the co-operation of the *Irish Gentry* [italics and underline are those of the author] the important part of my project must be of none avail. Small as the cost of this publication is (three halfpence) those to whom it may be made most useful cannot afford to buy it; and unless it is introduced into the Cottages of the people, it will not find its way to them. I earnestly hope, therefore, the wealthier and more influential of my countrymen and countrywomen – *if they approve of my design and the manner in which it is conducted* – will answer this call to make a small weekly sacrifice in order to distribute among the cabins of their Tenants and Dependents, a journal which has been so long conducted on a plan that cannot fail to interest, amuse and instruct them.

I am Sir, your very obliged ,

Anna Maria Hall

The Rosery, Gloucester Road, Old Brompton.

Appendix H
Manuscript Title Page of "Waking Dreams" [1843] by Mrs S. C. Hall
Ms HM 12430 The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.



(216)

Waking Dreams

by

Mrs. S. C. Hall

—

We are always more or less inclined to laugh at the nursery fable of our youth – touching the country girl who in a fit of disdain ~~overset~~ overset the basket of Eggs which was the ~~foundation~~ foundation of her anticipated glory. —

The subject has never been more Charmingly illustrated than by Mr Redgrave – The Maiden looks as pleased as though she saw the veritable Chickens walking out of the Eggs – as if they were really Canadian geese instead of the good Country housewifes "Barn door fowl" – as if the identical old gown – glowing in the very "shade of Red which he cannot her Heart, ~~ardently desiring to be pictured~~ having been bought and brought – & cut out and fitted – is at length finished and only awaiting to be put on – There's time enough in those eyes to filt twenty hours – and yet who can deny that, the animated – intelligent – out-looking (expression of the) as they are – the poor girls "waking dream" destroyed the only reality of her humble state.

— In all dream there

Appendix I
Chambers's Library for Young People. Select Figures.

Selected figures for the first 20 titles included in Dep 341/275 Publication Ledger No. 2 with title index, 1845-67 and Dep 341/276 Publication Ledger No. 3 with title index, 1863-80. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Author	Title (A-Z)	First publ.	Literary Labour	Initial print run	Total Printed	Date	Profit
Anon	Alfred in India	1848	£30	15,805	37,258	1878	£154
Anon	Clever Boys	1848	£43	13,714	41,532	1880	£128
Moritz, Gustav	Duty and Affection	1850	£22.0.1	10,555	37,057	1880	£129
Rowan, Frederica	England, A History of	1851	£40.1.0	10,545	21,983	1879	-
Anon	Fireside Amusements	1849	£25.8.2	18,997	50,874	1880	£188
Ritchie, Leith	France, A History of				27,717	-	£80
Hall, Mrs S.C.	**Grandmamma's Pockets**	**1849**	**£25**	**13,724**	**37,289**	**1880**	**£171**
Anon	Little Robinson	1848	£43.3.0	22,325	52,145	1880	£177
Anon	Moral Courage	1848	£30	13,712	42,512	1880	£159
Miller, Thomas	Old England, A Tale of				35,313	1880	£125
Edgeworth, Maria	Orlandino	1847	£50.3.3	26,150	49,729	1878	£183
Chambers, William	Poems			10,477	29,328	1879	£135
Rowan, Frederica	Scotland, A History of				19,854	1879	-
Anon	Self Denial	1848	£44	21,000	43,645	1880	£190
Howitt, Mary	Steadfast Gabriel	1850	£52.2.3	12,650	35,096	1880	£37
Hall, Mrs S.C.	**Swan's Egg**	**1851**	**£50.10.0**	**10,542**	**23,388**	**1878**	**£82**
Guérin, Léon	True Heroism	1849	£9.5.6	13,721	37,987	1880	£177
Anon	Truth and Trust	1848	£44	16,856	45,864	1880	£249
Hall, Mrs S.C.	**Uncle Sam's Money-Box**	**1848**	**£50**	**20,984**	**44,569**	**1879**	**£232**
Hall, Mrs S.C.	**Whisperer**	**1850**	**£50.1.8**	**12,665**	**27,089**	**1878**	**£114**

Appendix J
Uncle Sam's Money-Box. Select Figures.

Selected figures from Dep 341/275 Publication Ledger No. 2 with title index,1845-67, highlighting transactions for Uncle Sam's Money Box from its first publication in 1848 until 1862. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Date	Copies Printed	Deduct to author	Nett Printed	Lit Lab	Engr. Cuts £ s d	Compos -ition £ s d	Stereo typing £ s d	Printing £ s d	Paper £ s d	Binding £ s d
1848	20,984	48	20,936	£50	12.0.0	15.15.0	14.4.9	61.9.3	131.14.4	215.12.2
1849	2,169	14	23,091		1.5.0			9.0.0	12.17.7	16. 4.1
1850		15	23,076			--.7.6		2.7.4	--.12.7	15.17.7
1851	3,155	6	26,225					13.15.0	19.8.3	11.10.0
1852										18.3.4
1853	1,566	3	27,788			--.3.9		8.8.4	10.8.6	19.16.4
1854	2,105		29,893			--.3.0		10.6.6	13.12.9	17.4.2
1855	2,106		31,999					7.1.8	13.11.3	13.6.4
1856		1	31,998			--.3.9		1.6.0	--.7.0	12.11.1
1857	1,573		33,571					5.4.7	10.1.0	9.6.4
1858		1	33,570			--/--10				11.6.2
1859	1,692		35,262					6.11.3	10.13.2	11.8.2
1860		6	35,256					--.10.6	--.2.4	7.11.0
1861	10		35,266							
1862	1,045	2	36,309							

Ads £ s d	Total £ s d	Copies Sold	Total Sold	Copies on hand	Amount Sold £ s d	Out-lay £ s d	Surplus £ s d	Nett Profit £ s d
4.4.1	505 2 7	18,009			523. 7.8		18. 5. 1	
--.5.0	39 11 8	2,683	20,692		77.19.6		38. 7.10	56 12 11
--.15.0	20 0 0	1,587	22,279		46. 2.6		26. 2. 6	82 15 5
--.15.0	45 8 3	1,255	23,534	2,691	36. 9.6	8.18.9	26. 2. 6	73 16 8
1.0.0	19 3 4	1,014	24,548	1,677	29. 1.6		9.18.2	83 14 10
1.0.0	39 16 11	1,562	26,110	1,678	43.14.0		3.17.1	87 11 11
1.0.0	42 6 5	2,357	28,467	1,426	56. 2.2		13.15.9	101 7 8
--.15.0	34 14 3	1,103	29,570	2,429	32. 0.8	2.13.7	13.15.9	98 14 1
--.15.0	15 2 10	898	30,468	1,530	26. 1.5		10.18.7	109 12 8
--.15.0	25 6 11	921	31,389	2,182	27. 0.5		1.13.6	111 6 2
--.10.0	11 17 0	965	32,354	1,216	28.11.9		16.14.9	128 0 11
--.8.0	29 0 7	1,129	33,483	1,776	32.18.1		3.17.6	131 18 5
--.8.0	8 11 10	728	34,211	1,045	21. 4.1		12.12.2	144 10 7
	7 2 1	665	34,876	390	19. 8.7		12. 6.6	156 17 1
	15 7 2	641	35,517		16.16.7		1. 9.5	158 6 6

Appendix K
Anna Maria Hall's The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not [1]

1. Hall's Contributions 1829-37 (Adapted from www.britannuals.com)

Hall, Mrs. S. C. (Anna Maria); **The Star;** 1829, p. 55 [Prose/9 pages]

---. **The Savoyards;** 1829, p. 209 [Prose/16 pages]

---. **The Young Rebel;** 1829, p. 91 [Prose/12 pages]

---. **Holyday Time;** 1830, p. 193 [Prose/9 pages]

---. **The Irish Cabin;** 1830, p. 159 [Prose/17 pages]

---. **Gaspard and his Dog;** 1831, p. 193 [Prose/18 pages]

---. **The Not Family;** 1832, p. 23 [Prose/6 pages]

---. **The Young Traveller ;** 1832, p. 135 [Prose/21 pages]

---. **Anecdotes of Birds;** 1832, p. 168 [Prose/53 pages]

---. **Seven and Seventeen;** 1833, p. 124 [Prose/21 pages]

---. **An English Farmyard;** 1834, p. 23 [Prose/17 pages]

---. **Passages of Jenny Careful & Jane Careless;** 1835, p. 95 [Prose/11 pages]

---. **The Young Card-players;** 1835, p. 49 [Prose/17 pages]

---. **Irish Jerry;** 1836, p. 167 [Prose/20 pages]

---. **Papa's Letter;** 1836, p. 122 [Prose/14 pages]

---. **A Scene;** 1836, p. 7 [Prose/7 pages]

---. **Little Ears;** 1837, p. 33 [Prose/27 pages]

---. **Madelon;** 1837, p. 62 [Prose/5 pages]

---. **Introduction To Meta and Fanny L.;** 1837, p. 7[Prose/10 pages]

[1] Throughout the dissertation The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not is consistently spelled with two hyphens. The publication itself varies, as do advertisements and contemporary references.

Appendix K

2. Chief contributors to The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not 1829-37.
Numerous authors contributed just one story or poem each. Of these, only three of the more established authors have been included in this table.

Author	Contributions
Anna Maria Hall	19
Maria Jane Jewsbury	14
Mary Howitt	13
Letitia Elizabeth Landon	12
Charles Swain	12
Leman Blanchard	9
Barbara Hofland	9
Rev. Robert Walsh	9
Caroline Bowles	8
Allan Cunningham	8
Samuel Carter Hall	8
Eliza Leslie of Philadelphia	7
Maria Abdy	5
Bernard Barton	5
Miss Dagley	5
Sarah Ellis	5
Isobel Hill	5
Rev. Thomas Greenwood	4
Richard Howitt	4
Jack Montgomery	4
Rev. Charles Williams	4
Felicia Hemans	3
William Kennedy	3
Amelia Opie	3
Julia S. H. Pardoe	3
Mary Rolls	3
Agnes Strickland	3
Susan Strickland	3
Edward Walsh	3
William Henry Harrison	2
James Hogg	2
Mary Mitford	2
Hannah More	2
Jane Simpson	2
Mary Stockdale	2
Anna Laetitia Barbauld	1
Anna Maria Porter	1
Catherine Strickland	1

Appendix K

3. Artists 1829-37 (1832 plates not included as copy not yet seen to verify entries)
Many half-page vignettes by William Harvey were used in the first annual but full-page plates by other well-known artists and academicians were selected for subsequent annuals. As with the literary contributors, the annual supported the work of a selection of women artists also.

Artist	Engravings	Year
William Harvey	6	1829
Henry R. Corbould	2	"
Thomas Landseer	2	"
T. Good	1	"
T. Hills	1	"
W. Holmes	1	"
Jarvis	1	"
Bartolomé Murillo	1	"
J. M. Wright	1	"
William Harvey	2	1830
Daniel Maclise	2	"
W. Bigg R. A.	1	"
Miss M. Chalon	1	"
Henry R. Corbould	1	"
W. Hobday	1	"
J. Richter	1	"
Miss Magdalene Ross	1	"
Sir William C. Ross	1	"
Mrs G. R. Ward	1	"
William Harvey	2	1831
Sir William Boxall	1	"
Sir Wilkie Collins R. A.	1	"
Henry R. Corbould	1	"
Henry Howard R. A.	1	"
C. R. Leslie R. A.	1	"
Philip Francis Stephanoff	1	"
Richard Westall R. A.	1	"
Penry Williams	1	"
Henry R. Corbould	1	1833
Alexander Frazer	1	"
Thomas Gainsborough R. A.	1	"
John Hoppner R. A.	1	"
George Jones R. A.	1	"
Miss M. Kearsley	1	"
Daniel M'Clise	1	"
Parris, Edmund Thomas	1	"

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Richard Rothwell R. H. A.	1	"
J. Salmon	1	"
William Collins	1	1834
Miss L. Corbaux	1	"
Henry R. Corbould	1	"
R. Farrer	1	"
Alexander Frazer	1	"
William Harvey	1	"
James Inskipp	1	"
Edmund Thomas Parris	1	"
Sir Joshua Reynolds R. A.	1	"
Henry Room	1	"
Richard Rothwell R. H. A.	1	"
Edmund Thomas Parris	2	1835
Alexander Chisholm	1	"
Henry R. Corbould	1	"
Samuel Owen R. A.	1	"
George Patten	1	"
Sir Joshua Reynolds R. A.	1	"
Edward Villiers Rippingille	1	"
John Wood	1	"
Penry Williams	1	"
Miss Lucy Adams	1	1836
Alexander Chisholm	1	"
Henry R. Corbould	1	"
John Hancock	1	"
S. Holton	1	"
James Inskipp	1	
Edmund Thomas Parris	1	"
Sargent	1	"
Thomas Webster	1	"
Edward Bird R. A.	1	1837
Henry R. Corbould	1	"
W. Easton	1	"
Alexander Fraser	1	"
J. La Blont	1	"
Frederick Christian Lewis	1	"
Bartolomé Murillo	1	"
Edmund Thomas Parris	1	"
Sir Joshua Reynolds R. A.	1	"
M. Roche	1	"

Appendix K

4. Title Pages

K1 Left. Title page vignette by William Harvey for annuals dated 1829-32.
K2 Right. Title page vignette 1833-37. Harvey's design used as a tailpiece instead in these volumes.

THE

JUVENILE FORGET ME NOT.

A

CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S GIFT, OR BIRTHDAY PRESENT.

FOR THE YEAR

1831.

EDITED BY MRS. S. C. HALL.

LONDON:

FREDERICK WESTLEY AND A. H. DAVIS,

STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

Appendix L

Screenshot from www.annamariafieldinghall.com. Image by Frederick Goodall

Appendix L

Screenshot from www.annamariafieldinghall.com. Image by John Franklin